

UNITED STATES  
MEMORANDUM

NY

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
(OO:NY)

DATE: 7/24/61

b6  
b7C

Identity of Source

[redacted] who has  
furnished reliable  
info in past (conceal)

Description of Info

Enlarged meeting CPUSA NEC  
7/12/61 at CPUSA headquarters,  
NYC

Date Received

7/13/61

Received By

SAS J A HAAG-NYO  
and [redacted] - oral

b6  
b7C

Original Location

[redacted]

b7D

Information furnished by informant, as reflected  
above, was dictated to [redacted] on 7/14/61, by  
SA JOHN A. HAAG; transcribed on 7/18/61, and authenticated  
by informant on 7/19/61.

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b7C

A copy of informant's oral report follows.

- 2-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- 1-San Juan (100-20) (PCP) (RM)
- 2-Newark [redacted] (RM)
- (1-100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY) (Pgs. 2-6)
- 1 [redacted] (INV.) (41)
- 1-NY 101-559 (JESUS COLON) (415) (Pgs. 2, 5)
- 1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415) (Pgs. 2-6)
- 1-NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415) (Pgs. 2, 5)
- 1-NY 100-84275 (WILLIAM PATTERSON) (414) (Pgs. 2, 6)
- 1-NY 100-6562 (PCP) (413)
- 1-NY 100-80641 (415)

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EX-116  
REC-98

100-3-69-8625

JUL 26 1961

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NY 100-80641

7/13/61

On July 12, 1961, an enlarged meeting of the CP, USA National Board was held at CP, USA headquarters, New York City. Those present at this meeting were:

JAMES JACKSON-Chairman  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
CARL WINTER  
JAMES ALLEN  
JACK STACHEL  
WILLIAM PATTERSON  
BEN DAVIS  
IRVING POTASH  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
BETTY GANNETT  
JESUS COLON  
PAT TOOHEY  
MORRIS CHILDS  
GUS HALL  
PHIL BART

The first item on the agenda of this meeting was the setting of a date for the next enlarged NEC meeting, which is to be held August 12-13, 1961. It will be a full meeting of the NEC, plus selected National Committee members from the east and midwest, the total meeting consisting of 30-35 people.

The next business of this meeting was the setting of a provisional agenda for the enlarged NEC meeting of August 12-13, 1961. The discussion on this agenda was as follows:

In a forthcoming issue of "The Worker," there will appear an article signed by GUS HALL, which will be a statement of basic Communist Party (C.P.) policy. It will be captioned something like, "The Right-Wing Danger in the U.S. and Tasks of the Progressives in the Fight for Peace." This

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statement is an implementation of the CP, USA estimate and, therefore, is indicative of its future conduct with regard to the KENNEDY Administration and other important questions now being approached. The content of this article and the subjects surrounding it will be a major topic of the forthcoming NEC meeting. The people at this present meeting were given to understand that this article will be a very important pronouncement of the CP, USA.

(Such a pronouncement should not be given without its being in agreement with the C.P., U.S.S.R. Every statement of policy is issued or delayed in issue until its contents correspond with the policy of the CP, U.S.S.R.)

The second item on the agenda for the forthcoming NEC meeting will be the subject of defense work and the counter-attack campaign of the Party against the recent Supreme Court rulings.

This meeting left room on the agenda for questions concerning the internal situation in the Party, particularly in New York State, and other challenges to the National leadership by the left-wing crowd.

BEN DAVIS suggested that if there is time, the subject of local elections in various sections of the country be discussed.

The meeting agreed and approved that the above would be the provisional agenda; subject to change, however.

HALL mentioned that a National Committee meeting should be held sometime prior to October 10th, which is the date set for re-hearing of the Party's case before the Supreme Court.

The next item on the agenda of this present meeting was a report by PAT TOOHEY, New Jersey State C.P. Chairman, on Puerto Rico. TOOHEY had returned from a

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two-week trip to Puerto Rico as a representative of the CP, USA. It was an extemporaneous, one-hour report and covered his discussions with the Puerto Rican C.P. leadership and with the leadership of other pro-independence movements there. In his report, TOOHEY reviewed the activities and outlook of the Puerto Rican C.P. The final section of TOOHEY's report was devoted to the economic situation in Puerto Rico, the results of industrialization, and the change in economy from an agricultural to an industrial economy. TOOHEY expressed the belief that the changes in social and class relationships as a result of this industrialization had not been understood or evaluated by the Puerto Rican C.P. and other revolutionary elements who have not adjusted their policy to the corresponding new social and political phenomena in Puerto Rico. This, in turn, TOOHEY stated, has led to an ebbing of the independence movement, loss of strength and influence of the C.P. of Puerto Rico and other revolutionary forces, who continue to fall deeper into a condition of isolation, and ineffectiveness leading to a condition of gloom and despair and often futile acts of an adventurous kind. This section of the report, replete with statistical information and examples, proposed that the CP, USA help the C.P. of Puerto Rico by assigning several Party economists, such as VICTOR PERLO, to make searching studies of the economy and politics of Puerto Rico, which would show that radical forces in Puerto Rico are pursuing a correct or incorrect line. Such a study would determine the need of any modification in terms of policy and outlook.

TOOHEY's report presented to the meeting a long list of complaints and suggestions for improvements made by the C.P. of Puerto Rico and designed to eliminate the strains between the C.P. of Puerto Rico and the CP, USA. He presented a number of specific proposals whereby the CP, USA could help the C.P. of Puerto Rico, such as financial help, cadres and literature.

This report was followed by speeches by HALL, PATTERSON, ALLEN, GANNETT, JACKSON and DAVIS, all of whom



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were highly complimentary of the TOOHEY report. HALL proposed that TOOHEY prepare an article of a fundamental nature on Puerto Rico which would be published in "Political Affairs," "The Marxist World Review," and in various publications of the Latin American C.P.'s. He proposed that the article first be sent to the C.P. of Puerto Rico for its comments, as it will advance a new concept of policy for the revolutionary forces with regard to Puerto Rico.

HALL proposed also that the National Board immediately constitute a Latin American Commission of the CP, USA and that its first job be that of taking the proposals in the TOOHEY report and having them executed.

A number of objections were made to this proposal, the feeling being that the Puerto Rican question was so important and had been neglected so long, that again it would get lost in a Latin American Affairs Committee. It was agreed later that the Board would constitute a specific commission on Puerto Rican affairs, in addition to a general Latin American Affairs Committee.

COLON spoke and indicated he would leave for Puerto Rico on July 15, 1961, on vacation, and added that he fully approved of TOOHEY's report.

GANNETT spoke for the New York District and said that that District was prepared to undertake a number of responsibilities mentioned in TOOHEY's report, particularly, to help the Puerto Rican C.P. financially and otherwise.

JACK STACHEL said that the concepts advanced in TOOHEY's report were of a type of new thinking, which is necessary in this Puerto Rican situation. He proposed that TOOHEY or HALL or both have discussions with editors of all C.P. publications, to outline to them the need of constantly dealing with this subject.

It was agreed to arrange a series of meetings to take up one or another of the aspects set out in the TOOHEY report and seek their execution.

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PATTERSON stated he would call a meeting of 40 or 50 New York people if TOOHEY would repeat his report to this group, and then he, PATTERSON, would have assignments made to these people on the basis of this report. HALL stated at the end of the meeting that he had received a communication from the C.P. of Puerto Rico in the last several weeks, which was a resolution addressed to the National Committee, thanking the CP, USA for the attention received and thanking TOOHEY for his help while in Puerto Rico.

The last item at the meeting was a long wrangle concerning the Defense Committee set-up of the Party established to activate the Party's campaign against the Supreme Court ruling. Various suggestions were made in an effort to breathe life into this set-up. No particular or important results were achieved.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

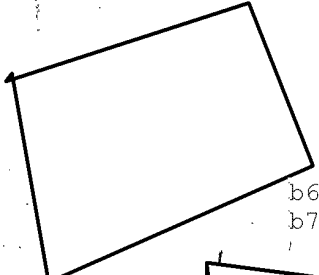
EX - 137  
REC-166

DATE: 7-24-61

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

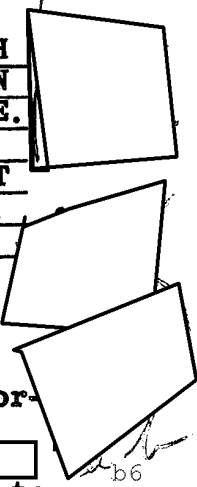
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - CONFIDENTIAL  
(OO:NY)



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EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THIS CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IT NOT BE SET FORTH IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF ANY REPORT UNLESS AND UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT HAS BEEN CORROBORATED AND EVEN THEN IN A PARAPHRASED FORM.



Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated July 18, 1961, containing information orally furnished on July 18, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAS [redacted] and [redacted]. This information was reduced to writing on July 24, 1961, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A) [redacted]

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Reference is made to Chicago letter to Director, copies New York, dated July 3, 1961, captioned as above concerning PAUL PERLMAN.

2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1-Detroit (RM)  
(1-100-13740) (H... CENTER)

REC-3 100-3-69-8626

14 JUL 27 1961

CNF:MDW  
(see page ii for additional copies)

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98 [redacted] 11-61  
BE [redacted]

7 AUG 14 1961

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

9-New York (RM)

(1-100-

(1-100-34665

(1-100-47233

(1-100-135736

(1-100-128255

(1-105-24891

(1-100-80641

(1-100-81338

(1-100-

[REDACTED]

(ABE HINGER)

[REDACTED]

(DANNY RUBIN)

[REDACTED]

(CP, USA - Organization)

(CP, USA - Security Measures)

(Camp Kinderland)

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2-Chicago

(1-A [REDACTED])

b7D

CNF:MDW

(14)

July 18, 1961

It will be recalled that in June, 1961, information came to the attention of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) National Review and Appeals Commission that one PAUL PERLMAN supposedly was in touch with Army Intelligence.

Latest developments in the National Review and Appeals Commission indicate that there is now information available that PERLMAN was in touch with the FBI and not with Army Intelligence.

According to information furnished to the Commission, ABE UNGER is also being dragged into the PERLMAN matter because he allegedly told PERLMAN to talk to the FBI.

PERLMAN is now working at Camp Kinderland and the subcommittee handling the PERLMAN matter, headed by LENA SCHERER, has instructed MARVIN MARKMAN to contact PERLMAN at the Camp to have him report to LENA SCHERER of the Review Commission. She has been delegated by this Commission to follow through and resolve whether PERLMAN talked to any intelligence agency or to the FBI.

DANNY RUBIN recently handed in a volume of material to the National Review and Appeals Commission concerning PERLMAN and JAKE ROSEN for review. It allegedly is old material which goes back to the Youth Festival and is of questionable value to the Commission.

HELEN WINTER as secretary of the Commission keeps these records.

*Not a Bureau  
Infl per Infl  
appeals*

ENCLOSURE

100-3-69-8626

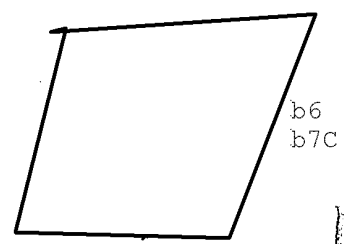
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7-25-61

*J. Edgar Hoover*

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)



b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

ReCGlet to Bureau, copies to offices receiving this communication, dated July 14, 1961, concerning proposed itinerary of SAM KUSHNER to look over mine and mill situation in New Mexico.

*mz*

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THIS INFORMATION IS BASED ON HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSIONS, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT IT NOT BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT UNLESS CORROBORATED THROUGH ANOTHER SOURCE AND THEN ONLY IN PARAPHRASED FORM.

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b7C  
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Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies of an informant's statement dated July 18, 1961, containing information orally furnished on July 18, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAS [redacted] and [redacted]. This information was reduced to writing on July 24, 1961, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A [redacted].

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM) (CP, USA) Strategy in Industry
- 3-Albuquerque (RM) (CP, New Mexico District - Funds)
- (1-100- (CP, New Mexico District - Strategy in Industry)
- (1-100- (Cominfil - IUMMSW)

*Reilly*

CNF:MDW  
(see page ii for additional copies)

REC-97/00-3-69  
JUL 27 1961  
8627

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UNREC COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

2-Denver (RM)  
    (1-100-          (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)  
    (1-100-1934      (Cominfil - IUMMSW)  
2-Kansas City (RM)  
    (1-100-          (SAM KUSHNER)  
    (1-100-          (GIL GREEN)  
5-New York (RM)  
    (1-100-84994     (GUS HALL)  
    (1-100-74560     (CP, USA - Funds)  
    (1-100-80641     (CP, USA - Organization)  
    (1-100-89590     (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)  
    (1-100-          (Cominfil - IUMMSW)  
1-San Francisco (RM)  
    (1-100-          (CP, Northern California District - Organization)  
9-Chicago  
    (1-A) [REDACTED] b7D  
    (1-100-3470      (MORRIS CHILDS)  
    (1-100-3952      (GIL GREEN)  
    (1-100-2748      (SAM KUSHNER)  
    (1-100-18953     (CP, Illinois District - Organization)  
    (1-100-18209     (CP, Illinois District - Pamphlets & Publications)  
    (1-100-19431     (CP, Illinois District - Strategy in Industry)  
    (1-100-10268     (Cominfil - IUMMSW)

CNF: MDW  
(25)

July 18, 1961

It will be recalled that MORRIS CHILDS, upon his departure for New York City from Chicago on July 10, 1961, had been asked by SAM KUSHNER to deliver a message to GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). In this message KUSHNER reported that his last trip West in regard to the mine and mill matter was good, and he was now thinking of making a second trip West. This second trip would be conducted when KUSHNER goes on July 29, 1961, to Leavenworth, Kansas, where he will cover as a correspondent for "The Worker" the release of GIL GREEN from Leavenworth. From this point, KUSHNER proposed a three-week trip throughout the Southwest under the cover of a press correspondent to look into the Party situation in the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union. KUSHNER indicated that he felt he could raise funds for the Party, and the message KUSHNER sent was to make HALL aware of the plans and to get HALL's authority to conduct such travel.

During the middle part of July, 1961, it was ascertained that CHILDS conveyed this message to GUS HALL in New York City, and upon his return to Chicago on July 18, 1961, conveyed HALL's reply. HALL, in effect, told KUSHNER that permission to take a three-week vacation was granted but that if he was going on vacation he would be on his own personal business and would use his own personal funds.

With regard to KUSHNER's engaging in Party organizational business in the Southwest under the guise of a correspondent for "The Worker," HALL instructed CHILDS to tell KUSHNER that this area is the business of the Northern California District and whatever business is conducted there is to be transacted by the Northern California leadership.

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ENCLOSURE



REC 66  
EX 100

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

DATE: 7-25-61

*[Handwritten signature]*

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

*[Handwritten initials]*

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN THE HANDLING OF THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THIS COMMUNICATION SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THE INFORMANT WHO WAS IN RECEIPT OF THIS INFORMATION IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY IN A HIGH POSITION IN THE INNER STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.

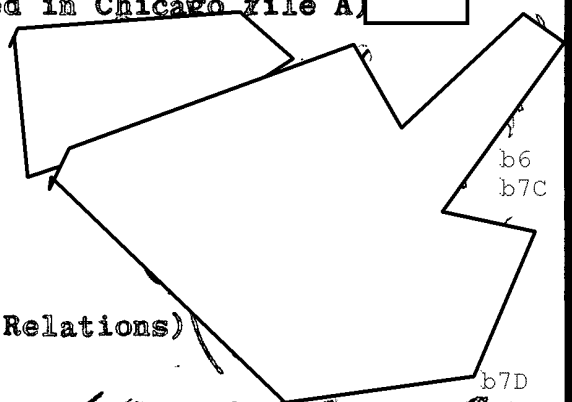
*m3*

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- 2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
  - 6-New York (RM)
    - (1-100-67234 (ARTH SHULMAN)
    - (1-100-111666 (JACK SHULMAN)
    - (1-100-56579 (PHIL BART)
    - (1-100-87211 (CP, USA - Factionalism)
    - (1-100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)
    - (1-100- (VALB)
  - 3-Chicago
    - (1-A) [redacted]
    - (1-100-1078 (VALB)
- CNF:MDW  
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ENCLOSURE



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REC-14

100-3-69-8628

JUL 27 1961

EX-113



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July 18, 1961

The National Board of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), recently made a decision to fire RUTH SHULMAN from her CP position in the National Office. The agreement was that SHULMAN would be permitted to go with her husband on vacation to East Germany to attend the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (VALB) affair. However, upon her return, she was to be advised that she had been replaced in her absence. She was not to be told that she had been fired. However, on July 13, 1961, PHIL BART had an argument with SHULMAN and during the course of the argument and against the specific instructions of the Board, he told SHULMAN that she was fired on the order of the Board.

The SHULMANS are now charging that the CP, USA, National leadership is carrying on a purge within the CP.

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100-3-69-8628  
ENCLOSURE

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W. Nathan Proynse  
7/17/61

LA 100-1763  
WNP: CJH

OC, P. U. S. A. ORGANIZATION  
(Bufile 100-3-69)

HEADQUARTERS

LA T-1 advised on July 6, 1961, that the SCDCP headquarters continue to be located in rooms 513-514 Lissner Building, 524 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, California. The monthly rental for these offices is \$60.00. BEN DOBBS indicated in April, 1961, that he was interested in acquiring additional office space for a library, however, he has made no further requests for such space.

JURISDICTION

Bylaws of the SCDCP provide that the "northern limit of the district shall be Kern County and San Bernardino County and shall include all Party organizations in Southern California."

OFFICERS

On June 26, 1961, LA T-4 advised that the following are officers of the SCDCP and constitute the District Executive Board:

- Chairman - DOROTHY HEALEY
- Executive Secretary - BEN DOBBS
- Field Representative - WILLIAM COTTLE TAYLOR
- Educational Director - Temporarily vacant
- Legislative Director - NEMMY SPARKS
- Chairman, Negro Affairs - PETTIS PERRY
- Labor Secretary - SOPHIE SILVER
- Representative on Mexican Affairs - SOLOMON MONROY

100-3-69

NOT RECORDED

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-25

LA 100-1763  
WNP:CJH

LA T-2 advised on June 23, 1961, that of the foregoing officers, HEALEY, DOBBS and TAYLOR are the only full time paid functionaries. HEALEY is responsible for public relation and mass contacts; DOBBS for the internal aspects of the organization, and TAYLOR for Negro activities and work in the outlying counties in the District.

LA T-2 also advised that HEALEY, DOBBS, MITCHELL and PERRY are SCDP representatives to the CP National Committee and HEALEY is also a member of the CP National Executive Committee. MITCHELL, by reason of her membership on the National Committee, and JOHN KYKYRI, due to his position as editor of the PW, frequently attend District Board meetings. PERRY has been on an extended leave of absence because of ill health.

#### ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

LA T-3 advised on June 1, 1961, there have been no major organizational changes during the past quarter. Source advised that in April, 1961, a new "mass organization commission" was created in the SCDP. This commission has not yet begun to function; however, BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary, SCDP, has been designated chairman. Members of this commission will include persons who are not represented on the District Board and who are responsible for mass contacts outside the Party together with chairmen of other commissions such as the Education, Negro, Mexican-American, Women's, and Jewish Commissions.

#### 1961 MAY DAY RALLY

LA T-3 advised on May 8, 1961, that the 1961 May Day Rally was held on May 7, 1961, at Zenda Ballroom, 936 $\frac{1}{2}$  West Seventh Street, Los Angeles, under the auspices of "Committee for '75 years of May Day'" (see appendix). Approximately 850 persons attended this affair. Principal speaker was ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Chairman, CP, USA, who discussed communist advances throughout the world and the need to create a socialist America.

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WNP: CJH

REACTION TO SUPREME COURT  
DECISIONS

LA T-20 advised on June 6, 1961, that on that date BEN DOBBS authorized for publication his personal observations on the June Supreme Court decisions regarding the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the membership clause of the Smith Act. DOBBS answered questions in general as follows:

Q: Are the decisions a blow to the Communist Party?

A: Yes, the decisions are a blow to the Communist Party and also a big blow to the constitutional liberties of all the people and all other socialist-type organizations.

Q: With the combination of the two decisions, are you going to name your members for possible prosecution?

A: We will discuss this question with the national organization and see what can be done to protect our people. I can assure you we will do everything we can to protect our members.

Q: What action will you take on a local level to fight the decisions?

A: We will fight the decisions on the local level by informing the Negro people, the labor unions, etc., of their relation to the decision and what it means to them and to the people everywhere.

Q: Are you going to make an effort to comply with the decisions?

A: We have not had a chance to study the decisions yet. We will have legal help in order to decide the legal questions involved.

Q: What significance do you place on the 5-4 decision with the strong dissenting opinion?

A: This shows the personal fight going on in the Supreme Court--it is a fight between the EISENHOWER appointees and the other members of the court.

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Q: Do you consider you do belong to an organization that advocates the violent overthrow of the Government?

A: On this question I would like to give an unequivocal answer. The Communist Party does not advocate the violent overthrow of the Government. We advocate the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism.

LA T-21 advised on June 21, 1961, that BEN DOBBS on June 20, 1961, spoke before a SCDCP Section Executive Board meeting to review the situation created by the Supreme Court decisions. DOBBS stated the membership must be preserved and that club meetings must be held regularly with no change in organization. He said there would be no clandestine type of organization created, as this had been tried before and was too unwieldy.

DOBBS commented that individual members have no need to worry inasmuch as the CP has no membership records or list of members as such that could be seized by the Government. He stressed the need of establishing a defense fund and to insure the continuing operation of the press ("People's World") as this would be the necessary means of reaching the membership and the general public.

DOBBS further stated there is to be no further recruiting of new members for the time being to preclude admission of enemy agents. This also applies to former members seeking readmission in the Party.

LA T-3 advised on June 6, 1961, that while there is some consternation in the Party, the general reaction to the decisions has been that the comrades must not panic; that there are still many legal avenues open to appeal; that in all probability the Government will move slowly on test cases before there are any mass arrests. Source states the general attitude seems to be "We've been through it before; this can't be much worse than the Smith Act trials or other repressive government measures."

LA T-6 advised on June 14, 1961, that a meeting of his section was held June 12, 1961, at which the discussion

LA 100-1763  
WNP: CJH

brought out that it may be necessary to dissolve the Party and carry on as a wide socialist-Marxist group. The possibility was expressed of joining the Socialist Party and eventually taking it over.

LA T-22 advised on June 15, 1961, that BEN MARGOLIS, attorney for the CP in Los Angeles, recently gave a personal analysis of the Internal Security Act of 1950. He noted that it took ten years to get a decision and that the chance of getting a stay were "50-50." On the other hand, he observed the chances of a reversal of the Supreme Court decisions are a million to one. MARGOLIS does not feel the law will be enforced to the full extent and he predicts another five or six years litigation.

ACTIVITIES OF SCDCP  
FUNCTIONARIES

DOROTHY HEALEY

LA T-23 advised on June 27, 1961, that HEALEY returned to Los Angeles on June 26, 1961, after a two month trip abroad visiting the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

LA T-24 advised on June 26, 1961, that HEALEY attended May Day festivities in Moscow with a delegation of American communists. While in Moscow, a seminar was held four hours daily for an unstated period of time, which was attended by HEALEY and the rest of the American delegation. Various Soviet leaders and government officials addressed this seminar. The discussions centered largely on dogmatism and theory and was held largely as an accommodation to the Americans. Prior to returning to Los Angeles, HEALEY stopped briefly in New York City where she met with officials of the CP, USA, giving a report on her trip.

BEN DOBBS

LA T-4 advised on June 26, 1961, that during the past quarter, BEN DOBBS, in the absence of HEALEY, has been in charge of the SCDCP. DOBBS chaired weekly meetings of the District Executive Board and maintained contact with the District office. He made most of the arrangements for the 1961 May Day

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WNP: CJH

Rally, appeared on radio and TV concerning the Supreme Court decisions and participated in other District and section meetings.

LA T-22 advised on May 10, 1961, that a testimonial dinner in honor of DOBBS was held under the auspices of the PW on April 27, 1961, at 2552 South St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles.

WILLIAM COTTLE TAYLOR

On May 3, 1961, an attempt to interview TAYLOR was made by SA's [redacted] and [redacted] in the vicinity of his residence. TAYLOR smilingly shook his head in a negative fashion, stating he had nothing to discuss with the FBI, walked away from Agents and refused any interview.

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LA T-4 advised on June 26, 1961, that TAYLOR regularly attends weekly meetings of the District Executive Board and takes an active part in the discussions.

LA T-7 advised on June 2, 1961, that in addition to his duties as Field Representative, TAYLOR maintains an active role in affairs of the Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP, and regularly attends section meetings.

NEMMY SPARKS

LA T-4 advised on June 26, 1961, that SPARKS is Legislative Director of the SCDCP and in this capacity regularly attends weekly meetings of the Executive Board in which he takes an active part. A meeting of the Board held April 6, 1961, was taken up entirely with a report by SPARKS on the 1961 Los Angeles municipal elections.

LA T-19 advised on May 4, 1961, that SPARKS also gave a report on the Los Angeles elections to a meeting of the Southern California District Committee held April 22, 1961, at 3875 City Terrace Drive, Los Angeles.

PETTIS PERRY

LA T-4 advised on July 5, 1961, that PERRY was



LA 100-1763  
WNP: CJH

released from Olive View Sanitorium in February, 1961, after being confined there for several months with tuberculosis. He is now convalescing at home and has not resumed active duties.

SOPHIE SILVER

LA T-4 advised on May 3, 1961, that DOROTHY HEALEY announced at a District Executive Board meeting on April 13, 1961, that SOPHIE SILVER was Labor Representative on the District Board.

LA T-3 advised on April 3, 1961, that SILVER attended a meeting of the SCDCP Women's Commission held March 25, 1961.

LA T-22 advised on April 27, 1961, that SILVER attended a meeting of the Industrial Section, SCDCP. SILVER is connected with the Needle Trades CP Club and is a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

LA T-4 advised on May 9, 1961, that SILVER had been ill and not in attendance at recent Executive Board meetings.

LA T-2 advised on May 15, 1961, that SILVER attended a District Committee meeting at which she spoke briefly on trade union activity and a shorter work week.

SOLOMON MONROY

LA T-4 advised on June 26, 1961, that MONROY attends all weekly District Executive Board meetings in his capacity of Representative on Mexican Affairs.

LA T-2 advised on April 24, 1961, that MONROY was present at a SCDCP Committee meeting held April 22, 1961, at which he spoke on the importance of the Mexican vote in the Los Angeles municipal election.

LA T-2 advised on May 15, 1961, that MONROY was in attendance at the SCDCP Committee meeting held May 12, 1961, at 1349 West 24th Street, Los Angeles.

UNITED STATES

# Memorandum

Tolson	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
DeLoach	_____
Evans	_____
Malone	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Ingram	_____
Gandy	_____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: July 27, 1961 *WCS*

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Reddy
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Chicago letter 7-21-61 furnished statement of CG 5824-S\* detailing initial meeting of a newly constituted Foreign Affairs Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held 7-17-61 at New York City. Meeting chaired by informant, only seven present. Purpose of this new committee is to serve as a service committee for the National Committee, CPUSA, and for the communist parties abroad and to inform the interested foreign parties, publications, et cetera, of facts relating to the United States and its foreign affairs.

The new committee will also be used to transmit some of the CPUSA problems abroad. Its first step in this direction was issuance of an "Information Bulletin" dealing with the Internal Security Act of 1950 and Smith Act of 1940 (by letter 7-26-61 to the Attorney General (AG), Deputy AG [redacted] and Assistant AG Yeagley "CPUSA - Pamphlets and Publications," we furnished details regarding this "Information Bulletin" which CG 5824-S\* had previously made available).

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Other matters discussed at the initial meeting were relating to what personnel are to serve on the committee and its subcommittees; what issues the committee should concern itself with; and technical aspects of publication of future bulletins. Committee will also, at times, review the work of other groups engaged in and influencing foreign policy and foreign affairs, such as the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Fair Play for Cuba Committee and various peace organizations.

Next meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee will be 8-11-61. Agenda to include matters relating to Germany and Berlin, Cuba and South Korea. Subsequent meetings to be monthly.

ACTION:

<sup>3</sup> For information. When this information is verified through other sources, we will consider dissemination to other agencies.

REC-42 100-3-69-8629

55 AUG 1 1961

100-3-69

1 - 100-3-81 (CPUSA, International Relations)

SFP:kmo (7)

*BJ*

*97K*

INT. SEC.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-81-

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

SECRET

REC-66  
EX-100

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7-27-61

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:CG)

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated July 21, 1961, containing information concerning the July 13, 1961, meeting of the New York State Board, Communist Party, USA, which information was telephonically furnished to Stenographers [redacted] (first eight pages) and [redacted] (remainder) on July 21, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past. This information was reduced to writing on July 24, 1961, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file

A [redacted]

[redacted]

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1-Albany (RM)
  - (1-100- (CP, USA - New York District, Albany Division)
- 2-Buffalo (RM)
  - (1-100-11933 (MILTON ROSEN) //
  - (1-100-10454 (MORT SCHERER) //
- 2-Detroit (RM)
  - (1-100-13420 (CARL WINTER) /
  - (1-100-13740 (HELEN WINTER) /

*Let NY  
8/1/61  
CNF:MDW*

CNF:MDW  
(see page ii for additional copies)

REC-29 100-3-69-8630

EX-113

10 JUL 28 1961

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ON 6-4-96 #222640

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56 AUG 17 1961

Classified by 3342 LTB  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

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CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

34-New York (RM)

(1-100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)  
(1-100-87211 (CP, USA - Factionalism)  
(1-100- (CP, USA - Brief)  
(1-100- (CP, New York District - Factionalism)  
(1-100- (CP, New York District - Lawyers Group)  
(1-100-84994 (GUS HALL)  
(1-100-47233 (ABE UNGER)  
(1-100-67234 (RUTH SHULMAN)  
(1-100-48033 (IRVING DOTASH)  
(1-100-54545 [REDACTED]  
(1-100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)  
(1-100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)  
(1-100- (SOPHIE LNU, employee of Jefferson Book Shop)  
(1-100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.)  
(1-100- (KOLKIN FNU)  
(1-100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)  
(1-100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)  
(1-100-15946 [REDACTED]  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100-25623 (ERIC BERT)  
(1-100-93665 (MIMI FRIEDLANDER)  
(1-100- (IDA LNU)  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)  
(1-100- (ERIN LNU)  
(1-100- (JESUS COLON)  
(1-100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)  
(1-100- (LANNY LNU, Essex County, NY)  
(1-100- (MILDRED MC ADORY EDELMAN)  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)  
(1-100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)  
(1-100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)

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3-Chicago

(1-A) [REDACTED]  
(1-100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)

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July 21, 1961

On July 13, 1961, a meeting of the New York State Board and invited guests was held in New York City. Included among those in attendance were the following individuals:

GUS HALL  
MILTON ROSEN  
KOLKIN (FNU)  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
LOUIS WEINSTOCK  
EVIE WIENER  
MORT SCHERER  
JIM TORMEY  
MIKE CRENOVICH  
PAUL ROBESON, JR.  
ERIC BERT  
MIMI FRIEDLANDER  
IDA (LNU)  
WILLIAM STANLEY  
WILLIAM ALBERTSON  
ERIN (LNU).

JESUS COLON  
BETTY GANNETT  
MORRIS CHILDS (invited guest)  
LANNY (LNU) (of Essex County, New York)  
MILDRED MC ADORY EDELMAN  
ESTHER CANTOR (UNGER)  
DAVE SALES  
JIM JACKSON  
WILLIAM PATTERSON  
CARL WINTER  
HELEN WINTER  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
JACK STACHEL  
RUTH SHULMAN  
BEN DAVIS, JR.

The key address or report was delivered by GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), on the factionalism in the New York District and on the question of how the Party views this factionalism and expects to handle it.

A discussion followed HALL's report after which HALL delivered a summary.

A vote was taken on three motions proposed by HALL with results as hereinafter described.

HALL's report is as follows:

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Report of Gus Hall, 7/13/61

We could spend time more profitably to discuss, let us say, my article in "The Worker" on the ultra-right movement but today we are going to deal with something else. I am speaking for the National Board and at the time of my talk I will present some proposals and motions concerning the life of our Party. We ask you to join us unitedly, to rebuff those who want to divide and destroy our Party.

These people came to this stage logically, for this is where it leads to if you follow the path of struggle against the Party. If they do not stop it will lead them to an anti-Party stage. In fact, we can say that here in New York some people have already reached this stage. The National Board views this situation in that way.

Our Party has made headway generally and in New York too, despite the factionalism that prevails here. The area of infection has been narrowed down. Ninety-eight per cent of the Party body in New York is a healthy Communist Party. This infection is serious though small because it prevails on the top and infects the rest of the Party body. This small, narrow group now embittered and has degenerated politically. This small group never gave up the factionalism. They have continued as a cancer of negativeness on a healthy body of the Party. This element, this group, has now degenerated to a point where a McCarthyite-Fascist-like act of the Supreme Court has become a vehicle for their attack to destroy our Party.

Here is a total rounded out picture since the Supreme Court decisions has come down. We must see the total picture to appreciate the seriousness of factionalism. By three o'clock of the day when the Supreme Court decision was handed down, on June 5, the national leadership made a fighting decision and took on a fighting posture. The international movement hailed this stand of our Party. By Wednesday of this week, legal steps were worked out to fight on that level too. By Thursday, this same week we held a press conference which we can say undoubtedly was the best in the history of our Party. We set the tone, the line for a fight back. We can say that our stand was accepted

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ON 6-4-96 #222, 640

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by the Party all over the country a hundred per cent. Although if I was to use percentages in New York, ninety-eight per cent in New York. On Friday the national leadership met. We invited some people from the Districts, including New York, and we organized a mass campaign to fight back. We succeeded in publishing our open letter to the American people in a number of newspapers. We also distributed the greatest amount of literature in a long time. In the city of Minneapolis, which I want to use as an example, in one week's time they raised thousands of dollars and the same was done in Wisconsin, but in Minneapolis they put the ad in the "Tribune" and other papers.

We took other steps that made it possible for our comrades who were abroad to cover the world capitals of the Western countries and explain our situation to other Parties. We have published a pamphlet by Elizabeth Flynn, a book of 128 pages by Herbert Aptheker, as coming off the press in the next few days. During the first week after the Supreme Court decision the defense office was organized and activities started. The Party's national leadership visited trade union leaders, progressives and others and interested them in the defense of the Communist Party. "News Week" carried a full page regarding the fight of our Party. Then, of course, there was the Winston interview which was covered by all of radio, television, and the press. We also published the open letter in one hundred thousand copies as well as the same open letter in "The Worker" in another one hundred thousand copies and we ran short. Preparations are now being made for a mass conference or assembly in defense of constitutional liberties. A folder on the Negro people and the effect of the Supreme Court decisions on them is now being planned. Another folder dealing with the effect of the decision on labor is also being prepared as well as a folder with the decision's influence upon the youth. A folder appealing to the Jewish people is in preparation and the lawyers are preparing a pamphlet or a folder in the form of an amicus brief which will undoubtedly be published in thousands of copies. These will show some of the steps that the Party undertook the first weeks after the Supreme Court ruling. Some districts moved in the same vigorous fashion. This is the healthiest, the finest step on the part of the Party undertaken in many years. And the Party has developed the will to struggle and to win.

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We are receiving hundreds of letters each week from all parts of the country. Ninety-nine per cent of the people who write to us do not agree with Communism but they do want to do something to help the Party's fight for Constitutional liberties. The Left movement, the progressives, as well as a good number of liberals are responding in the same way. The Department of Justice had to take note of this position of ours and the response of the people and we would not be wrong in saying that this sentiment was a factor in winning a stay for the Party from Justice Frankfurter. The stay was granted not because of the sentiment of Justice Frankfurter, but rather because of the pressure of the people and the fight of the Party.

What was our political approach? We say categorically we can win this struggle and when we say this we are not whistling in the dark. We believe that if we analyze this situation from the position of the world relation of force and the relation of internal forces in our country, we can win even though there will be a hard struggle. The world's struggle today has as its heart the struggle for democracy. The bourgeoisie in the United States must hold on to this mask of democracy. This dilemma for the bourgeoisie also creates possibilities for us to win this fight. The Negro movement today also proves that there is a deep current for democracy in the United States.

While all of this is going on, we, the leadership, continue our discussions regarding such problems as the security of our membership. There are many honest opinions in our minds on how the Party can avoid the blows of the enemy. But these ideas have nothing to do with liquidationism. We will continue discussions on all levels beginning with the National Executive Committee where we started the action after the Court decision.

What would the enemy do in this period? The Attorney General made his statement on enforcing the decision. Then the FBI moved in. The Birch Society, too, gleefully greeted the Court decision. The press was crowing about the end of the Party. The stable of stool pigeons such as Budenz, Philbrick and others predicted the end of the Communist Party in the United States.

A week after the Court decision, as if by central instruction, a hue and cry for the dissolution of the Party was started by columnists who were undoubtedly close to the FBI. They began to predict that the Party would dissolve and also

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how the Party would avoid the legal decisions. They talked of a rumor getting around that the Party was going to dissolve. During these days some liberals in private talks with us suggested that we dissolve. Some ex-Communists made contact with some of our people and also suggested that we dissolve. This was the period of horror stories which told us that if we don't dissolve, everything is going to happen to us. We might even say that our enemy believed that victory for them was near.

This is the background of the New York situation in the Party. We can't evade it. We must say that the New York situation is not a mere coincidence. How can you determine whether it is a coincidence or a part of the pattern worked out by the enemy? From the point of view of the Party, it makes no difference whether it was the influence of the press or whether the action of the New York people was directed by the enemy, the FBI.

This same Monday, the day of the decision of the Court, Abe Unger, without talking to anybody went to the Lawyers Party group and raised the question of the dissolution of the Party. This is the same Unger who has carried on a fight against the leadership of the Party for a long time; who on one occasion, when he was speaking to the New York State Committee and a meeting of the activees shouted to the people present to stand up and prove whether they were mice or men, urging them to fight our national leadership. This is the same Unger who at the time of the Khrushchev visit with Eisenhower said that "peace was here to stay." It has been years and years since he heard such (obscene).

Unger, who sent in an article to "Political Affairs", an anti-Party article, is the same one, the same Unger, who at this lawyers meeting, out of the clear sky, said the Supreme Court decision means our Party has reached a "dead end." He continued to tell us that we must be honest with the membership, in fact it is our duty to tell the members to dissolve the Party. Also to inform the membership of the gruesome penalties of the law, the McCarran Act, etc., etc. We must give the lawyers credit for their intelligence and legal capabilities. They

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*John McManus*

properly rejected Unger's proposals with a feeling for the Party. Unger wanted to destroy not only the Party, not just a Party, but a Marxist-Leninist Party. He even said, "In three or four months from now after we dissolve, <sup>Corbiss, Lamont, and McManus</sup> might build a new Party." Can anyone imagine these people rebuilding a Marxist-Leninist Party? *Corbiss, Lamont*

A few days later a memorandum from Ruth Schulman came in which innocently gave us a summary of a meeting of the Manhattan Council. In this memorandum she said that some people thought that dissolving the Party was a logical step. In this memorandum she created the false impression that this was unanimous thinking or feeling, but Ruth gave us a false impression. Imagine permitting agitation for the destruction of the Party in a Party committee or leaders.

We in the leadership knew that we have many problems, but one problem we agreed upon, that is, to fight back. We do not open up the Party to the enemy and there is no other way of handling questions of security except in private and in secret.

A day later at a Manhattan Council meeting, Irving Potash gave a report. He read before this meeting a page from our decision in which it stated that some areas such as security be not discussed in these large meetings. Comrades, however, were told to raise these questions in their proper place but not in open meetings.

Unger took the floor and said that in this Party he will discuss anything and as he put it, "anything I want". He also talked of "circumventing" the decisions of the Court. Some comrades took a good position on what we can discuss and cannot discuss in these open meetings and condemned Unger. But Evie Weiner apologized or acted as an apologist for Unger or she put up an umbrella to protect him. The Control Commission (officially the Review, Appeals, and Audit Commission) met and discussed the article that Unger wrote and they also discussed his impermissible actions. They made a decision to suspend Abe Unger from the Party. The National Board has endorsed this decision adopted by the Control Commission. This decision of the Control Commission and the National Board comes after another meeting of the New York County Executive Committee meeting which was held last Thursday. Imagine a meeting of the New York County Executives after the decisions adopted by higher committees. Bill Patterson

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called Unger aside and informed him that there is a decision of the Control Commission as well as the National Board against him and told him not to attend this meeting. Unger in a most contemptuous manner said to Patterson, "Is that all you have to say?" and he walked away and walked into the meeting. Before the County Executive meeting got underway Patterson once again raised the question of Abe Unger's attendance and he cited the decision of the Control Commission. A big discussion ensued; the tone and nature of this discussion should be related to the meeting held today. Such discussion has no place in the Party and from now on will have no place in the Party. At midnight the Manhattan County Executive voted 9 - 3 telling Unger to stay. Not only that, they invited him to the next meeting of this Executive and by the time the meeting adjourned, they never did get to the main point on the order of business, the report that was to be made on the fight back of the Party.

The National Board met the next day and received a report on this meeting. How would you characterize this action on the part of this meeting of the Manhattan County Executive? I alone won't do it. How do all of you or how do each and every one of you characterize this meeting? You have to do it. You have to do it in the context of the past and of the present and in the context of the unity of the Party. It is not just an accident or an incident. What took place was a logical development of the degeneration on the part of some comrades. Abe Unger is a political anti-Party degenerate who utilized the attack of the enemy as an opportunity to destroy the Party. Some comrades privately of the New York leadership have said, "The Party is not worth saving." They also said, "Destroy it. Later we will build something else." I would suggest that those who talk that way confess their degeneration. It is not difficult to characterize Abe Unger as an anti-Party element, but what about the other comrades who told the National Board and the Control Commission to go to hell. I won't say that all of these comrades are anti-Party but their actions are as shown to be anti-Party.

The interest of the Party because of their bitterness and factionalism was not so low in their thinking. Those who do not agree with our decisions can appeal to higher bodies. They can even appeal to a convention but they should not mobilize against the Party. If those who participated in these anti-Party actions

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do not recognize their mistake they will go down the drain with Abe Unger.

Where is democratic centralism? Some of these comrades think of democratic centralism as an abstraction, not a part of our living struggle of the Party. I want to ask the comrades to think of Gates and Stein and their concept of democratic centralism. What if we had information that there are FBI agents in the Party and we in the National Board or Control Commission suspend some of these agents and some lower part of the body votes to over-ride our decisions. Can you have a Party working that way? What if the National Board makes a decision and each section decides to over-ride? Is this a monolithic Party? I would say no; this would be a coffee clutch, not a Party. Where does the Manhattan Executive get this right? You get it, comrades, from your bitterness. We will not permit it. We would die as a Party if we permitted that to go on. Is this not an act of liquidating the Party, destroying it as sure as Unger's proposals for dissolution.

If you destroy the struggle, that is, democratic centralism, if you destroy discipline, you destroy the Party. This is what the New York Executive did. We might add that this is liquidationism. Those who champion Abe Unger must have forgotten the right to dissent as placed in our Party by the revisionists. Where is the difference between the leaders of the New York Executive, Gates, and others. Should we guarantee the right to dissent, that is, to dissolve the Party? Do you want this in the constitution? There is no such right for anyone in this Party. I want to cite other examples. There was one comrade of this group who said the Communist Party of Cuba played no role in their revolution. That the revolution in Cuba took place because of eighty heroic men. This is a petty bourgeoisie concept. This has no place in the Party. We have no room for such dissenters or destroyers of the Party. (This was said by someone from Buffalo). Comrades, don't answer us in the abstract. Recall the five points on the fight back in the memorandum sent out by the National Committee. If the Party does not close its doors to such "rights" it will disappear. No lower body has a right to choose decisions, that is, those that they like and those that they dislike. We have been too liberal in this respect with New York County leadership.

Now we hear a new cry from this same group. They say, "The trouble is there is no leadership in New York." Those who place obstacles in the way of our Party who are in the leadership themselves, raise this cry.

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The leading comrades in New York are as good as any we have in the Party. Here, I want to say something about William Patterson. Under the most difficult conditions Patterson has shown a great ability and understanding. This applies to other comrades who are justly able to give leadership. But if we permit this kind of group activity we are discussing here today to continue, we won't go anywhere. The ending of this group is task number one. Where is morality and decency on the part of those who place obstacles and then cry "no leadership"? These same comrades will next say the same of the National leadership. They will be talking about Gus Hall as they are now talking about William Patterson.

These same members of the New York Executive leadership were the ones who said not long ago that "peace is here to stay." This same group defended the Chinese Communist Party policy during our big discussion. These same comrades acted contrary to Party decisions during this period of our discussion. These comrades took side. They ordered the Chinese book, "Long Live Leninism." Their first order was for 200 copies and proceeded to have a one-sided discussion on the problems facing the international movement.

During the elections, these same comrades did not fight for the Party policy; they fought for a break-up of these elections. All they did was sit on their hands and did nothing to carry through Party policy.

Under question of reorganization, this is a good moment to discuss in the light of the Supreme Court decision all the committees in the State acted correctly. They abolished their executives, but not New York County. This body, that is the Executive, is an illegal body. They resisted our national decisions and carried out only those decisions they wanted carried through or those they desired to carry through.

This leadership, that is the State leadership, as well as the National leadership, will now decide that this Executive be dissolved. The leadership will be reorganized in the State to carry through the policy of the National Committee and the policies adopted by the State Committee. If you can't accept this, please step aside before you are thrust aside.

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Don't cover up the main issues with secondary matters or raise some problems of technicality concerning the Control Commission. Perhaps the Control Commission did not cross every "t" or dot every "i." We must resolve the basic and central questions first. You will have to take a stand on these central questions. Later, we will take up smaller things. The central issues, if not resolved, will destroy the Party.

- 1) We should discuss this question of dissolution.
- 2) We should discuss the question of disobeying the leadership.

Our task is to liquidate prophets of "dead endism." The Party has regained the respect and admiration of the international movement, of every Party; our Party has regained the respect of the left movement in our country. Our party is confident that it can win this fight. We must, therefore, put an end to liquidationism and revisionism.

In the past period we had to overlook breaches of discipline. We have to learn the meaning of discipline. We overlooked some breaches of discipline because we had time, but now we have no time and we have re-learned the need for discipline.

The membership will be sharper and more militant in the defense of the Party. The time element, too, will not allow us patience. What are we asking for? We are asking for a united Party. We are asking for an end of factionalism, negativism, and anarchism and for Communist behavior. We are asking for a leadership that places Party above all else; the kind of leadership that always gives the benefit of a doubt to the Party. This is the kind of leadership that the Party wants.

We all make mistakes. We will make some more mistakes in the future, but we can not repeat the same mistakes. Those who have defended the right to such discussion as has been going on in our Party in New York must see their error, for if you continue comrades, and I am speaking to this group, now, you will be outside the Party.

Our structure is no accident. It is designed because of the historic past to carry through Marxism-Leninism. This is the task of our Party. This is why we need this structure. Our decisions are not left to be interpreted by anyone individual.

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This is a voluntary army. Everybody joins under the conditions placed by the army. If you, and I am speaking to the comrades who are behaving like factionalists, do not join and accept the conditions of the army, you become a barnacle on this body. In this period one can't be half in and half out. We demand complete allegiance to the Party. No committee--no one--has the right to break this discipline. This outlook and this discipline are a condition for victory. The actions of the Manhattan or New York Executive are not in keeping with the decisions of the Party. Here, I want to make some motions:

1) That we approve the report of Gus Hall and the decisions of the National Executive Committee and the National Board.

2) To execute immediately the decisions to bring reorganization to the New York District in line with those decided for other counties.

3) That the State Board should meet jointly with the National Board and discuss the question of strengthening the New York leadership.

This was followed by discussion.

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Remarks of MILTON ROSEN

MILTON ROSEN was the lead-off man and spoke for that group. He said he had heard that PAUL ROBESON, JR., was to be brought before the Control Commission; that SOPHIE (LNU) who works in the Jefferson Book Shop be brought before the Control Commission; and that UNGER was to be expelled.

Somebody interrupted him and asked where he got this information since there have been no discussions although these names were mentioned before the National Board, but he was interrupted by members of the National Board and asked where he got these facts but he did not answer but the general opinion is that BEN DAVIS leaked this information.

ROSEN then went on to say that we can't accept HALL's characterization of the New York County Committee; can't accept this because of the present actions of that committee or its past actions; that the New York County Executive will be a bellwether for the Party in the future as it has been in the past. That this body, meaning the Executive, makes possible the wherefore all for the entire Party. That the Manhattan Executive is a shining example which others could follow. He charged the National leadership with the breaking up of the unity of our Party. I am in complete opposition to GUS HALL's report. |||

KOLKIN

KOLKIN followed GUS; in favor of the National leadership.

ARNOLD JOHNSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON favored National leadership with some hesitations.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK

First time followed the National leadership.

- 11 -

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EVIE WIENER

She, like ROSEN, disagreed with GUS regarding New York County, disagreed with his characterization of UNGER. She defended RUTH SHULMAN's memo. ||

MORT SCHERER

MORT SCHERER of Buffalo disagreed. Issue is the unity of the Party; blamed bureaucrats in the National leadership and disagreed with GUS HALL and National Board. ||

JIM TORMEY

JIM TORMEY favored the report of GUS HALL.

MIKE CRENOVICH

MIKE CRENOVICH took sharp disagreement with GUS HALL and defended UNGER. Said working class to figure out ways and means to circumvent court decisions. ||

PAUL ROBESON, JR.

ROBESON said that he also disagrees and then he said he has no confidence in the National leadership. He said there isn't much of a Party left except a holding operation. He charged that GUS HALL distorts the problems of the Party and disagrees with him. He then offered that since he has no wish to carry on the struggle against the Party or the National leadership, he feels that he does not belong on the National Committee and wants to resign and wants to be a rank and file member from the National Committee. ||

ERIC BERT

BERT asked question if PAULIE was resigning from National Committee. PAULIE said yes, he'd resign from all leading bodies.

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MIMI FRIEDLANDER

He was followed by MIMI FRIEDLANDER who supported GUS HALL and the National leadership.

IDA (LNU)

IDA supported the leadership.

IRVING POTASH

POTASH spoke and attacked UNGER, etc.

BILL STANLEY

He was followed by one BILL STANLEY who nobody could understand, who seemed to side with the factional group. People asked him questions, but he did not speak clearly.

WILLIAM ALBERTSON

ALBERTSON spoke in favor of the National leadership.

ERIN (LNU)

ERIN, in printing group, straddled the fence but seemed to favor the opposition.

JESUS COLON

JESUS COLON supported the leadership.

BETTY GANNETT

JESUS COLON was followed by BETTY GANNETT who favored the leadership.

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LANNY (LNU)

LANNY of Essex County, New York, who used to be lined up with New York, turned against and broke with the factionalists and supported the leadership. He said you can't talk around democratic centralism.

MILDRED MC ADORY EDELMAN

MC ADORY was against the National leadership. //

ESTHER CANTOR

ESTHER CANTOR, UNGER's wife, defended ABE, saying he is not a political degenerate and she attacked the National leadership, charging that there is an anti-Party center in the New York County Executive. She said that the issue is not that of dissolution but the question is how the Party can circumvent the blows of the bourgeoisie. It is a disservice to the Party to tolerate ABE UNGER's treatment.

DAVE SALES

DAVE SALES, who is considered a very honest rank and filer who is being proposed for the Control Commission of New York State, spoke for the leadership.

JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON tore factionalism apart.

WILLIAM PATTERSON

PATTERSON agreed with the report.

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Summary Remarks of Gus Hall

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What can you say about the level of MILTON ROSEN's question to discuss this by serious discussion. It is infantile and demagogic. MILTON ROSEN did not fashion the issues. He is not serious about the Party.

MORT SCHERER's speech is in a similar vein. He is also demagogic.

Where is the issue "vote right" or you will be characterized as an anti-Party element?

What was raised here was that the comrades vote right at the meeting. What was raised here was that the comrades do vote right at the meeting and walk out of the meeting and do just the opposite.

You, MORT, are most demagogic.

EVIE WIENER, your wiggles and maneuvers have no place in this Party.

You have covered up the real issues. You said all UNGER raised was "reorganizing" the Party but, according to the memo which RUTH SHULMAN wrote, it speaks distinctly of dissolution. The County leadership did not notify the National Office about this meeting being held. We were not invited or called in. We don't charge Manhattan County leadership with this or that in a reckless manner. Don't wrap yourself in the mantle of the membership. This is an old stunt. We only charge a few comrades with actions detrimental to the Party. I have attended two clubs of the Party and found that they had electoral policy disagreements. Where did they get their incorrect policies, I asked them. Afterwards, some members told me that they got the idea from the County leadership. We do not charge that all in the County leadership are anti-Party or have committed anti-Party acts, but we charge that some members of the County leadership have committed, yes, anti-Party acts.

Regarding UNGER, we can excuse a wife, ESTHER CANTOR, but she, too, deliberately tried to mislead us and distorted the issues. UNGER did not just say that he wanted to discuss the question, he actually proposed that he would commit suicide at a most critical moment in the history of the Party.

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I want to disagree with PAULIE that our Party is just a holding operation. That is incorrect. Maybe from Harlem where PAULIE is it looks that way, but for the entire Party it is something different. PAULIE shows a lack of confidence in the principles of Marxism-Leninism, not merely the lack of confidence in the leadership. How can you fight against liquidation when you have no confidence in Marxism-Leninism. PAULIE lacks maturity; therefore, he offers to resign from the leading bodies of the Party. I think the Party will endorse the proposals of the National leadership and help eradicate this factionalism and strip the New York leadership.

This was followed by a vote on motions which have been given.

- 16 -

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Motion #1

- 10 - for endorsing HALL's report (people who are members of the Board)
- 6 - against
- 1 - abstention (BILL STANLEY)

Consulative vote included members of National Committee, others were invited.

- 44 - for
- 2 - opposed
- 2 - abstained

DAVIS was asked whether he was voting and he said he was not voting. He made a distinction between abstention and voting.

Motion #2

- 10 - for
- 5 - opposed
- 2 - abstained

Motion #3

- 13 - for
- 2 - opposed
- 2 - abstained

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Opinions and Interpretations

Insofar as the New York situation is concerned, it is an extremely serious one for the Party. Some of them, beginning with MILTON ROSEN, will find themselves not only outside of the leadership but outside the Party.

There is an opinion that BEN DAVIS is the real leader behind this fight although it is difficult to state this for certain. Undoubtedly, however, he is thinking of steps to take and is waiting for opportunities to develop at which time he will decide if this is the moment to lead a fight for whatever he has in mind.

The debates at this meeting were sharp and there was some talk that some of the people taking the anti-leadership position may even have a contact with a new group of Trotskyites who recently split off from the main body of Trotskyites.

On Monday, July 17, 1961, the New York State Board together with some of the members of the National Board and a few others discussed the overall problem and how to bring the National Office decisions to the membership. BEN DAVIS raised the cry that a purge is under way in an effort to offset the move of the National leadership to reorganize the Party leadership in New York by going to its membership.

Initial approaches to the Party membership in New York indicated a favorable view toward the National leadership, but the current thinking in the National Office is that some members of the New York District may leave the Party.

The factional fight in New York can and should be popularized, as there are no longer any secrets about it in the Party. Close to 80 persons, alone, were involved in the New York State Committee meeting recently held and are aware of the overall situation.

If this is popularized, the Party is vulnerable to charges of lack of democracy, for not protecting the Party membership, for not giving membership security, and for leaving the Party open to attack. It is also vulnerable for arbitrarily removing the New York District leadership, and all of these messages can be effectively brought to all membership in New York with possible good results.

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*let to [unclear]  
8/10/61 [unclear]  
[unclear]*

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Another possible angle would be a charge that the National Office is attacking an outstanding Negro leader like BEN DAVIS. Another angle is to let the Communist world know that BEN DAVIS is not voting in support of the top leadership of the CP, USA.

- 19 -

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F B I

REC-42

Date: 7/20/61

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL RM  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)  
SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
CINAL  
(OO: NY)

There are transmitted herewith eight copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning a meeting of the National Board, CPUSA, held in NY, on 7/19/61.

The confidential source utilized was NY 2359-S\*.

This memorandum has been classified "Confidential" because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CPUSA and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Encls. 8) (RM)
- 1 - NY (100-80641) (415)

AWM:KMD  
(5)

ENCLOSURE

AGENCY Dir, Div, E2, HAO  
 REQ. REC'D  
 DATE FORW. 7-28-61  
 HOW FORW. SFP/lin

REC-42

100-3-69-863

JUL 21 1961

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CENTRAL RESEARCH

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York  
July 20, 1961

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

100-3-69

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America -  
Organization

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on July 19, 1961, that a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) was held in Communist Party (CP) Headquarters, in New York City, on that date.

Phil Bart, Organizational Secretary, CPUSA, brought up the matter of bail for Gil Green, former CP leader, who is presently incarcerated after conviction under the Smith Act of 1940, stating that there were estimates that it could be as high as \$15,000.00. This matter must be handled and the Party has to be prepared to meet bail at that figure. He suggested that he and Arnold (Johnson) be released from everything to go out and get the bail money. The source said there was no disagreement on this suggestion. A discussion was held on the merits of merging the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Peace Committee. Some members felt that it would hurt the work of both committees to merge them, while others thought that it would strengthen their work. During the course of the discussion, it was mentioned that a meeting of some members of the Foreign Affairs Committee was held, apparently on July 17, 1961, wherein the Berlin question was discussed.

Jack Stachel, member of the National Committee (NC), CPUSA, said that this question should be discussed by the National Board at its meeting next week and that in the meantime, the Board should consider authorizing a statement on this situation to be issued in the name of the National Board and the General Secretary. It was decided that a committee would work out a final recommendation on the merger of the two committees and that the statement proposed by Stachel would be issued.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-3-69-8631

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America -  
Organization

Phil Bart next proposed that they take steps to assure activities and the presentation of the Party's position around Labor Day. The whole question of political action on that day should be discussed and he proposed that a small committee be formed to prepare a statement and recommendations for the guidance of districts of the Party.

Louis Weinstock, Business Manager of "The Worker", (William) Weinstone, Educational Director, CPUSA, and one other unnamed person from New York, were named to this committee. The source believed that Irving Potash, Labor Secretary, CPUSA, was to be in charge of this committee.

James Jackson, Editor of "The Worker", mentioned that the eighth anniversary of the 26th of July Movement was coming up and some form of greeting should be sent. He suggested that an editorial in "The Worker" might be used as the basis on which to issue the statement. The source advised that there was no objection to the proposal that Jackson take the responsibility for preparing this statement of greetings to Cuba.

Dave Carpenter, writer for "The Worker", next gave a report on Pope John XXIII's recent encyclical. He said that it marked a complete shift from the line that was set by Pope Leo XIII and his encyclical of 1891. In the new encyclical, there was a recognition of the responsibility of the state for the welfare of people as individuals and the acceptance of Socialism as a form of society.

Carpenter saw the new encyclical as a recognition by the Church that the fact of Socialism must be accepted, that there are injustices in colonial countries, that rich countries should give aid to so-called under developed countries without political strings and that cognizance should be taken of the national aspirations of the colonial countries. He also saw it as a recognition by the Catholic

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America -  
Organization

Church that they could not openly take the side of imperialism any longer. He saw the encyclical as a change in the thinking of the Catholic Church and there was a possibility now for maneuvering and forming a united front with various sections of the Catholic masses.

After discussion by the functionaries present, it was proposed that Carpenter immediately prepare an article based on his report for "Political Affairs." Since this would take some time to appear in the magazine, it was proposed that a memo on the principal points be prepared immediately and sent out to the Party. It was also proposed to establish a committee to work out a program to approach the Catholics on the basis of this report.

Carl Winter, member of the NC, CPUSA, announced that a National Assembly for Democratic Rights will be held on September 23 and 24, 1961 in New York.

A separate committee with offices at 118 East 28th Street, New York City is being set up to handle this. The objective was to get a turn out of the largest possible number of individuals to support the campaign for reversal of the court's decision. The platform was to be representative of all democratic forces.

Winter said that an effort is being made to get suitable sponsors to identify themselves with this committee and in this connection a letter was sent out to prospective sponsors by Professor Louise Pettibone Smith. It was expected that a Reverend Willard Uphaus would join her in a few days as a co-signer. Winter said that Professor Smith wanted no publicity on this until she is joined by four or five others as sponsors. Winter said that they were encouraging the districts to organize local committees for participation in the National Assembly and to send out material. Winter proposed that Si Gerson, a member of the NC, CPUSA, or Rose Chernin, Head of the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, be considered to head up this committee.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America -  
Organization

"The Worker" is an East Coast  
Communist weekly newspaper.

In "The Worker" issue of March 5,  
1961, the editor of "Political Affairs"  
identified the latter publication as an  
organ of the National Committee of the  
CPUSA published monthly.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

*JAN*  
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -  
ORGANIZATIONS  
IS - C

DATE: *7-28-61*

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EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN THE HANDLING AND REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THIS MEMORANDUM. SOME OF THIS INFORMATION WAS WRITTEN ON BLACKBOARDS AND IN NOTES AND TO REVEAL THE CONTENTS OF THIS INFORMATION WOULD POSSIBLY IDENTIFY A HIGH PLACED BUREAU INFORMANT. *CG 5824-S\**

(u)

There are enclosed herewith for the Bureau two copies of informant statement regarding the July 12, 1961 meeting of the Communist Party (CP), USA, National Board held at CP Headquarters. *[Handwritten signature]*

This information was furnished on July 19, 1961, to SAs *[redacted]* and *[redacted]* and reduced to writing on July 24, 1961. *[Handwritten signature]*

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b7C (u)

b7D

The report is located in A *[redacted]* *[Handwritten signature]*

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- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 2)
- 21 - New York
  - (1 - 100-80641) (CP Organizations)
  - (1 - 100-84994) (GUS HALL)
  - (1 - 100-1696) (ELIZABETH FLYNN)
  - (1 - 100-3826) (JIM ALLEN)
  - (1 - 100-128255) (DAN RUBEN)
  - (1 - 100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
  - (1 - 100-48033) (IRVING POTASH)
  - (1 - 100-18065) (JACK STACHEL)
  - (1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT)
  - (1 - 100-1602) (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
  - (1 - 100-559) (JESUS COLON)
  - (1 - 100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1 - 100-9369) *[redacted]*
  - (1 - 100-6562) (CP of Puerto Rico)

(u)

REC-17 100-3-69-8632

JUL 31 1961

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON *7-20-29*

~~INT. SEC.~~

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CLASS. & EXT. BY *9803 RDD/CA*  
REASON-FCH IN, 1-2.4.2 *2*  
DATE OF REVIEW *7-2-81*

ENCLOSURE *m*

57 AUG 9 1961

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*2-12 to CG 8-3-60  
re: memo. of CG informant  
SP/AM*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741

- (1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
- (1 - 100- ) (Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties)
- (1 - 100- ) (Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party)
- (1 - 100- ) (Emergency Civil Liberties Committee)
- (1 - 105-1792 ) (FPCC)
- (1 - 100- ) (MIMI FREEDLANDER)
- (1 - 100- ) (National Lawyers Guild)

- (u) 2 - Detroit
  - (1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
  - (1 - 100- ) (HELEN WINTER)

1 - Newark (100-19491) (PAT TOOHEY)

- 2 - San Juan
  - (1 - 100-20) (CP of Puerto Rico)
  - (1 - 105- ) (NPPR)

- 6 - Chicago
  - (1 - 100-18961) (CP of Ill. District Organization)
  - (1 - A) [REDACTED]
  - (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1 - 100-38507) (Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties)
  - (1 - 65-2054) [REDACTED]

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CNF: gmf  
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CG 100-33741

July 19, 1961 ~~(u)~~ (u)

On July 12, 1961, there was a meeting of the Communist Party (CP), USA, National Board and invited guests held at CP, USA, Headquarters, New York. Some of the conversation and some of the exchanges described herein were by means of blackboard and the exchange of notes. ~~(u)~~

Present at this meeting were the following: (u)

JAMES JACKSON, Meeting Chairman  
GUS HALL  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
JAMES ALLEN *aka Jim Allen*  
DAN RUBEN  
MORRIS CHILDS  
PAT TOOHEY - *President*  
BEN DAVIS, JR. - *President*  
IRVING POTASH  
JACK STACHEL  
BETTY GANETT  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
CARL WINTER - *Mich.*  
JESUS COLON - *Puerto Rico*  
PHIL BART. ~~(u)~~ (u)

PAT TOOHEY reported on his 15 day trip to Puerto Rico. He was warmly received and had many meetings. He took a three day trip over the island, covering many of the main cities and towns. He had a series of discussions with trade union leaders, mayors, and politicians of the Popular Democratic Party. ~~(u)~~ (u)

In regard to the questions: (1) What is the condition of the CP of Puerto Rico? (2) What is the economic and political situation in the country? (3) What is the status of the independence movement? TOOHEY reported as follows: ~~(u)~~ (u)

There is no real CP in Puerto Rico in the sense that the Party in this country understands a party. The CP of Puerto Rico is a group of individuals without a central committee, without a section committee, and without a youth

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CG 100-33741

movement. In the main city (San Juan) there are a few Communist Party members who are not organized nor are they engaged in concentration activities. There are no youth, in fact, in the Party. A paper was published until last December. The Party issues very little material for public distribution but there is lots of material available from the Socialist countries. All materials are mimeographed and the CP of Puerto Rico wants a printing press. Despite these weaknesses the Party enjoys a good reputation and a good standing among the masses and some other island leaders. It is involved in some united front activity for the "defense of Cuba" and for Puerto Rican independence. ~~(u)~~ (u)

*W. J. ...*  
Two out of 14 former leaders remained in the Communist Party. One died and one went insane. This has left the Party decimated. Desertions of some leaders did not help the prestige of the Party. Persecutions and defections of some of the CP inner political struggles are responsible for this. There are no places to hide on this small island. One comrade carries the load although he has personal and financial troubles. He has no employment and the little aid furnished by the CP, USA, is not enough. U.S. imperialism has entrenched itself and its rule in Puerto Rico. In many instances gloom and futility prevail. This feeling of gloom and futility is a feeling in all movements, even to some extent in the CP. Yet some activity in the pro-Cuban field, in the pro-independence field, and in the cultural movement continues. ~~(u)~~ (u)

TOOHEY made a report on the 81 Party Conference and the CP of Puerto Rico approved its resolutions, although it had little material on the conference to study. ~~(u)~~ (u)

On relations with the CP, USA, TOOHEY reported that they feel isolated and abandoned because they do not participate in anything. The TOOHEY visit was the first official visit of the CP, USA, in 13 years. The CP of Puerto Rico is critical of the CP, USA, because that Party has "no line" on Puerto Rico. They were critical of JIM ALLEN's pamphlet on Cuba because the pamphlet contained not a single word on Puerto Rico. They claim also that all of the resolutions of the CP, USA, leave out reference to Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States. ~~(u)~~ (u)

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CG 100-33741

They are also critical of the CP, USA, because it failed to secure an invite for a CP of Puerto Rico participant in the 81 Party Conference. Further, the Puerto Rican Party was not invited to the Latin American Party Congresses, and the CP, USA, is being blamed for that also.

The CP of Puerto Rico has asked for political attention, because it is a colony and has great sensitivity. It has not received magazines of the CP, USA, it receives only five copies of "The Worker" and the Cuba materials are not allowed by the Puerto Rican authorities. The Party charges the CP, USA, with being remiss in the light of American imperialism. It has no funds and wants American assistance. It suggests the organizing of a "Friends of Puerto Rico" movement to assist Puerto Rico in its struggles.

It further suggests frequent visits by well known CP figures in this country such as ELIZABETH FLYNN and BEN DAVIS, who enjoy reputations in Puerto Rico.

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico also asks that the CP, USA, help them put out a newspaper. Currently there are three papers being issued, "Puerto Rico Libre", "Voice for the Defense of Independence", and one paper issued by the peace movement. Who publishes the latter publication is not known.

It is further suggested that the CP, USA, help the CP of Puerto Rico on the question of political prisoners which is a critical issue. The movement of ARMANDO ROMAN (POC) sends letters to the CP of Puerto Rico but this group has no influence in Puerto Rico and the Party is combatting this group in Puerto Rico.

The Puerto Rican Party thanked the National Committee of the American Party for sending a representative to Puerto Rico and suggested that the American Party assign a special comrade for work in Puerto Rico.

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CG 100-33741

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TOOHEY continued by reporting on the independence movement in Puerto Rico. He described this movement as having a gloomy outlook and it is felt that the statehood movement is inevitable and that Puerto Rico will eventually devolve into a state like Hawaii. The pro-independence movement was described as middle class with no trade union base. It also has some anti-Communist trends within it. The few Communists within the Party in Puerto Rico are trying to encourage the independence movement despite the gloom. This effort is being encouraged by SANTOS but the Nationalist movement itself is weak. In fact it is more active outside of Puerto Rico, in New York for example, than in the Island. One group (former followers of ALBIZU COMPOS) is very militant in Puerto Rico but they follow divisive tactics and have no electoral policy. The pro-Cuba movement was described as solely being from the "left" although the Cuban Revolution has had a profound effect on the Puerto Rican people. Short wave radios are continually tuned to the Cuban radio. The Puerto Rican peace movement was described as "too narrow" and as being unable to continue the peace publication for that reason. (u) ~~TOP SECRET~~

On the trade union movement TOOHEY reported that there are four to five federations, all of whom pursue an anti-independence line. 150,000 workers are organized, 150,000 workers are unemployed, 150,000 workers are employed part-time, and one-half the population of Puerto Rico is unemployed. Puerto Rico, according to TOOHEY, is no longer chiefly an agricultural country. There are 600 new factories now and three agricultural regions in the country are declining. There is a 30 per cent decline in agricultural jobs. There is a 20 per cent increase on jobs in industry. A working class has emerged causing a shift in population and many new urban problems. There has been an increase in per capita income to \$570 compared with \$160 average per capita income in Latin America. There has been an expansion of housing and an expansion of unemployment compensation but these changes do not change the colony status of Puerto Rico. However, the Party needs as a result of these changes, to make a new estimate of the status of Puerto Rico.

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CG 100-33741

TOOHEY received the impression that the CP of Puerto Rico considers LOUIS MONOZ MARIN as the main enemy, yet MARIN is attacking the John Birch Society, the church hierarchy, is against intervention in Cuba, etc. He has also come out against monopoly in Puerto Rico and the question is, is the CP of Puerto Rico correct in considering MARIN as the main enemy. It was suggested therefore, that some CP, USA, qualified economist be sent to Puerto Rico to study the economic situation and to formulate a new basic program.

Following the report of TOOHEY, GUS HALL suggested that the Foreign Affairs Commission set up a Latin American Committee. He also pointed out that the CP, USA, has been giving financial aid to the CP of Puerto Rico regularly since the 17th National Convention. The American Party will also take up the practical problems concerning Puerto Rico soon. He remarked that TED BASSETT is going to Puerto Rico as is JESUS COLON.

///  
P(u)

JESUS COLON stated that the CP of Puerto Rico is receiving material and did receive the 81 Party Statement. He complained that the American Party cannot write about Puerto Rico unless the Communist Party of Puerto Rico gives the American Party a basic document.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN then reported on the work of the new Party Defense Committee. She reported that a Citizens Committee for Defense had been set up with a project of asking for \$100,000. Material is at the printers. An open letter is being printed and ads will be placed. The Justice BLACK dissent on the Internal Security Act of 1950 decision is being printed in pamphlet form. Justice WARREN's dissent decision is also at the printers. ELIZABETH FLYNN's pamphlet, a book by HERBERT APTHEKER consisting of 128 pages is also being published. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is also circulating a petition and a fact sheet is being prepared for circulation by the National Lawyers Guild. The Party is asking CARL WINTER to come in from Detroit and spend a few weeks in New York to actually organize the Party defense activities around the new committee. On finances PHIL BART will work with MIMI FREEDLANDER.

*ll*

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CG 100-33741

Continuing, FLYNN reported that JOE (BRANT) is in charge of the National Conference entitled "Assembly for Democratic Rights" scheduled for September 23, and 24, 1961. The possibilities of success of this conference are good. BRANT is being assisted by ARNOLD JOHNSON.

Concerning defense activities in general, FLYNN reported that material on the meaning of the McCarran Act has been sent out. The Party will soon prepare a document on the sentiment and reaction of the press and the people to the McCarran Law decision. A pamphlet on what the Communist Party stands for is needed. ELIZABETH FLYNN herself will prepare a pamphlet on the Party membership cases. A mass meeting will be held in New York on July 27, with FLYNN, MC MANUS, STRUICK, etc. JIM ALLEN will prepare a pamphlet on the "Foreign Agent" charge.

FLYNN further advised that in connection with the Party's fight back efforts tours by National Party leaders are being conducted in the various districts. For example, GUS HALL is going to the West Coast and later to the Middle West. A defense bulletin is also projected. A defense appeal will be published in "The Worker", "The National Guardian", "The People's World", and the "Morning Freiheit". Five bishops will sponsor a petition to the President. An international bulletin has been issued.

(u)

GUS HALL, the next speaker, spoke on the need for a public relations director for the National office. He charged that the New York organization has not given any forces to the Party defense effort and that the Party needs such people to help the office to send out news letters and later a magazine.

JIM JACKSON mentioned that the "Minneapolis Tribune" editorial supports the right to dissent.

JIM ALLEN reported that the Party first asks that there be a re-hearing. He added that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union are filing Amicus briefs.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741

CARL WINTER next said that the Party must move the rest of the country. It has found some response in the Middle West, but the Midwest has not received material from the Citizens Defense Committee as yet. There is a need for clarity regarding the Citizens Committee and the National Assembly Conference. The Party must be careful that it (The Citizens Committee) is not closed out after the National Assembly. ~~(u)~~

PHIL BART reported that the Fair Play for Cuba Convention was held on July 1, and 2, 1961, in New York City. Approximately 200 delegates were present from most cities in the country. New York had 18, Chicago 10, Los Angeles 4, etc. There were also students from a dozen schools in the delegations. It was a positive conference. GIBSON in his speech made the main point as being a question of U.S. - Cuba relations. His tour resulted in his developing some Trotskyist ideas. Before the conference the Trotskyists introduced a resolution on the main dangers facing the movement; that is, that this movement may be only "friendship organizations" rather than one which fights for a socialist Cuba. The positive results were that the conference rejected the extreme Trotskyist views which would repel the united front. The FPCC established an advisory council with one representative from each chapter. September 15th is the first scheduled meeting of this council. JOHN ROSSEN of Chicago, according to BART, raised the question of democracy in the FPCC Committee. This GIBSON thought was aimed at him and he considered ROSSEN as a representative speaking for the CP. It was wrong for ROSSEN to raise this point at this time. The Conference had rejected the ROSSEN resolution. It was later explained to GIBSON that ROSSEN is no longer a member of the CP nor does he speak for it. The organization is in the hands of the Trotskyists in many cities. It was therefore necessary for more Party members to become active in the FPCC if control is to be wrested from the Trotskyists. ~~(u)~~

b6  
b7c

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

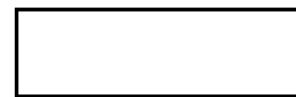
# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7/29/61

*WVW*  
*7/29*

FROM : SAC, BUTTE (100-721)



b6  
b7c

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C

Re Butte letter to Bureau, 7/25/61, captioned  
"CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES; IS - C."

Relet advised that an envelope with return address  
Room 1525, 22 East 17th Street, New York 3, New York, was  
received at Box 1104, Butte, Montana, the mail address of  
the Montana CP District. Enclosed were Bulletin No. 1,  
dated 7/12/61; a pamphlet, "An Appeal to Defend Constitutional  
Liberties," and a flier entitled "Fact Sheet," concerning  
the Internal Security Act, issued by the CCFCL. This was  
the first communication received at this box mailed after  
the Supreme Court decisions of 6/5/61.

and on 7/28/61 made available an  
envelope addressed to Box 1104, Butte, with return address  
of Third Floor, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York.  
The envelope contained the above three documents and the 6/24/61  
special issue of "The Nation," entitled "The CIA" by FRED J.  
COOK.

b7D

Other than the return address, there was nothing  
in the envelope indicating it was mailed by the CP National  
Office.

- 2 - Bureau (Reg.) (AM)
- 1 - New York (Reg.) (AM)
- 4 - Butte
  - (1 - )
  - (1 - )
  - (1 - 100-8276 - CCFCL)

THZ/jec  
(7)

REC-46

336.920  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 8/24/94 BY *Spencer King*

b7D

100-3-69-8633

© AUG 11 1961

EX - 107

*INT. SEC.*

50 AUG 4 1961

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

EX - 137  
REC- 66  
p3

*[Handwritten signature]*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7-27-61

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-18953)

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:CG)

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated July 21, 1961, containing information orally furnished on July 21, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA [redacted]. This information was reduced to writing on July 27, 1961, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A [redacted].

b6  
b7C  
b7D

2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
48-Chicago

- (1-A) [redacted]
- (1- 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- (1-100-2748) (SAM KUSHNER)
- (1-100-3301) [redacted]
- (1-100-12459) (FLO HALL)
- (1-100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1-100-12890) (EARL DURHAM)
- (1-100-3313) (JACK KLING)
- (1-100-24800) [redacted]
- (1-100-18962) (CP, Illinois District - Security Measures)
- (1-100-19431) (CP, Illinois District - Strategy in Industry)
- (1-100-37958) (McGee Club, 42nd Ward)
- (1-100-38093) (Pete Levine Club, 12th Congressional District)
- (1-100- [redacted]) (Austin CP Club)

REC- 42  
EX 101

100-3-69-8634

12 JUL 31 1961

b6  
b7C

CNF:MDW  
(see page ii for additional CG copies)

*Let Chicago re New African Institute  
8/9/61  
TPR: dew  
66 AUG 15 1961*



CG 100-18953

**Copies:**

**49-Chicago (Con't.)**

(1-100-37971 (43rd Ward Club)  
(1-100-38041 (Hammersmark or East Club of 12th Congressional)  
(1-100-38122 (Debbs Club)  
(1-100-38259 (Attorneys Club)  
(1-100-38261 (Doctors, Scientists Club)  
(1-100-38262 (Bethune Club, aka South Side Doctors Club)  
(1-100-37189 (National Groups)  
(1-100-38027 (Jane Addams Club)  
(1-100-38151 [redacted] (Professional) b6  
(1-100-37998 (West Side Medical Club) b7C  
(1-100-38194 (Frederick Douglass Club)  
(1-100-38042 (Skokie Club)  
(1-100-38198 (South Side Club)  
(1-100-38043 (Evanston Club)  
(1-100-33200 (Midland News Agency)  
(1-100-38773 (Unnamed South Side CP School being organized 6/61)  
(1-100-2749 ([redacted])  
(1-100- [redacted])  
(1-100- [redacted]) b6  
(1-100- [redacted] (Johnstone CP Club) b7C  
(1-100- [redacted])  
(1-100- [redacted])  
(1-100-18952 (CP, Illinois District - Membership)  
(1-100-17769 (CP, Illinois District - Funds)  
(1-100- (Lightfoot Defense Committee)  
(1-100-16219 ("Morning Freiheit")  
(1-100-3952 (GIL GREEN)  
(1-100-21222 (CP, Illinois District - Underground)  
(1-100-18104 [redacted] b6  
(1-100-18080 [redacted] b7C  
(1-100-37762 (CCDBR)  
(1-100-8261 (NAACP)  
(1-100-19491 (CP, Illinois District - Domestic Administration  
Issues)

CNF:MDW  
(50)

July 21, 1961

On July 20, 1961, a meeting was held at the residence of EARL DURHAM of individuals called together to reorganize the leadership of the Illinois District of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA).

It will be recalled that the former Illinois District Board was recently dissolved for security reasons, and it was announced that a new leadership body would be organized in the immediate future.

The meeting, July 20, 1961, was called to reorganize the Illinois District Board. Those present included the following:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
SAM KUSHNER  
FLO HALL  
MORRIS CHILDS  
EARL DURHAM  
JACK KLING  
LOU DISKIN

DAVID ENGLESTEIN is a member of the new body but was absent for this meeting.

LIGHTFOOT talked at length about some of the new organizational changes which are the results of the Supreme Court decisions in the McCarran Act. He said he would not go into the political reasons for the organizational changes as they had been thoroughly discussed and gone over at the last CP Board meeting.

The organizational report was delivered by FLO HALL. It was stated that no one knew the size or the identity of the members of the new District Board except those present and that this Board would run the District in the future. It was stated that it was possible that a trade union comrade would be added to this body but the committee designated to organize this body could not agree as to the advisability of placing a trade union comrade in the body in view of the legal ramifications of the McCarran decision. At some time in the future a trade union comrade may be added.

b6  
b7c

- 1 -

100-3-69-8634  
ENCLOSURE

In discussing recommendations of the committee previously designated to change the organizational setup, of which HALL was one, it was stated that the State Committee will be divided into two or three parts. HALL and LIGHTFOOT are getting together on July 21st at which time the Committee will be divided up into parts and individuals designated for each part. There is no proposal at the present time to decrease the number of individuals on the State Committee.

With regard to the Club Chairmen's Council, the Council meetings will be discontinued. Instead, as far as the community clubs are concerned, the city will be divided up and responsibility assigned to individuals who constitute the newly constituted Board. For example, the South Side area will be handled by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and EARL DURHAM. This will include the South Side Club, the Hyde Park area, and all other club activities on the South Side.

The West Side Clubs, including the Southwest Clubs, will be handled by LOU DISKIN.

FLO HALL will be responsible for all North Side Clubs except the two clubs in Albany Park which will be handled by JACK KLING, since their composition is primarily Jewish.

MORRIS CHILDS is to work with KLING and to give him a hand in the Jewish field so that KLING can handle his other responsibilities, including his new Party organizational apparatus responsibilities.

ENGLESTEIN will handle the Loop Clubs although MORRIS CHILDS will continue to remain in the Loop Section. The people responsible for the respective areas will meet with the Club Chairmen in these areas and this will replace the old city-wide Club Chairmen's Council.

With respect to the clubs, they will slowly split up with five to seven members in each club. The Hyde Park Clubs will be split, definitely, because of their size. The clubs, however, will not be fragmentized into one or two persons clubs.

Currently there are problems with the Austin Club of which MOLLIE WEST is a member. ROSE MEYER, also a member of this club, has called for the liquidation of the Party. There are also rumors that MARIO MANZARDO of the Johnstone (Steel) Club is proposing a division of the club and may have in mind a complete liquidation of this industrial club.

The Board is concerned because MANZARDO has taken little interest in club affairs of the Party for the past several years. In fact, one of the club members recently stated that MANZARDO had not attended a club meeting in ten years.

EARL DURHAM next remarked that he had been privately told by Doctor LOUIS KOLIKOFF that both of the Medical Clubs had been dissolved. It was KOLIKOFF's understanding that the dissolution was at the suggestion of FLO HALL.

At this point, HALL quickly indicated that it was possible that in reference to the Professional Section her remarks could have been misunderstood and in view of the statement regarding liquidation, it was apparent that they had been misunderstood. She said she would make an immediate check and if such was the case, the clubs would be immediately reconstituted.

A question was raised as to whether the clubs' trouble regarding liquidation was inspired or had connections with the dissident groups in the New York District. FLO HALL was instructed to check into this immediately in order that it may be resolved.

In this connection it was also mentioned that HELEN HESTER, individually, has been calling for the liquidation of the Party in the Garfield Park Club.

EARL DURHAM then suggested that the Party should, as part of its new organizational setup, consider the forming of some "functional" clubs in the communities. However, nothing definite came from the discussion at this meeting regarding this matter.

Regarding the individual clubs, it was mentioned that the industrial council will be dissolved. Industrial representation will be added to the Board, if it is determined that there are no apparent legal problems. In the meantime, SAM KUSHNER will have charge of the industrial clubs again. In this regard, it was learned that MORRIS CHILDS intends to challenge the decision to place KUSHNER in charge of the clubs and will attempt to unlock the strangle hold of KUSHNER on these clubs by calling the attention of LIGHTFOOT to the fact that the National Office detests and distrusts KUSHNER and will not permit him to handle the industrials at this time. CHILDS will push for an industrial representative on the Board to handle the industrial clubs.

It was also announced that LOU DISKIN will work as much as he can now for the Party and then during his slow working period (he is a carpenter) he may be put on as a part-time paid employee. He will not, at any rate, function as a full-time employee in the immediate future.

With regard to the dues collection and the problems therein under the new organizational setup, it was tentatively announced that plans now are to collect dues as in the past. However, something must be worked out to conceal the fact that Party dues are being collected.

In summary, the initial meeting of the new Board was in effect a reiteration of the decisions of the Party organization planning committee which were made some weeks ago.

It was indicated during this meeting that hereafter the Party will stress ideology and the most important tasks. Some things that the Party was to have involved itself in will have to go undone.

It has not been decided to date where CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT will set up his office; however, it will be at a place other than at 36 West Randolph Street, Chicago. It is contemplated that he will operate under some such umbrella as the Lightfoot Defense Committee.

FLO HALL will operate out of 36 West Randolph Street but under the cover of being an employee of the Midland News Agency which is ostensibly the distribution agency of "The Worker" in the Chicago area.

EARL DURHAM will operate on the South Side under the cover of the New African Institute, a school which has, as yet, not been named nor is it existent but it will come into being in the Fall of 1961.

A cover is also to be worked out for DAVID ENGLESTEIN possibly centering around some duty or activity in the Modern Book Store. It will be recalled that ENGLESTEIN's former title as District Educational Director has been abolished.

JACK KLING will continue to operate under the cover of the Business Manager of the "Morning Freiheit."

### Other Business

FLO HALL stated that the National Office expects that the bail of GIL GREEN required under the old indictment of the Smith Act membership charge in New York will be raised. The National Office has asked Chicago, as GREEN's home city, to raise \$5,000 by July 28, 1961, so that the Party can have a fund available to cover this contingency. It is asking for loans and donations and will also try to tap the old Party bail fund still being retained by LEON KATZEN. KATZEN, according to LIGHTFOOT, has been contacted but says he will not release any funds without the authority of the Board.

HALL reported that the CP District Defense Committee is still not functioning although DICK CRILEY meets with one or two members of this Committee from time to time.

### New York District Factional Situation

MORRIS CHILDS was the next speaker and gave a report on the New York District factional situation which centers around the suspension of ABE UNGER and the refusal of the higher bodies of the New York District under democratic centralism to support the decisions of the CP, USA, National Board and the National Review, Appeals and Auditing Commission. He stated the issue in New York is whether the CP is a monolithic Party of Marxism-Leninism or a debating society only. Also, the additional issue is whether the body should liquidate itself or follow the decision of the National Office to conduct a "fight back" campaign under its own name.

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b7C

### Report by EARL DURHAM

EARL DURHAM reported to the Board that the NAACP leadership had recently met with the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations and was requested by this Committee to cease organized "wade-ins" at Rainbow Beach and other areas in Chicago in the interest of lessening racial tension in this city. DURHAM reported that the NAACP has agreed to abide by the request and will hereafter not organize these "wade-ins". DURHAM indicated that the Negro Commission will probably submit and follow the NAACP decision although individual small groups may continue to participate in "wade-ins."

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b7C

**Next Board Meeting**

The next Board meeting is scheduled for July 31, 1961.  
This Board will meet every two weeks thereafter on Monday nights.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7-27-61

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

DECLASSIFIED BY *spg/ob*  
ON 6-4-96 #223,640

b6  
b7C

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN THE HANDLING AND REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN AND NO REFERENCE MAY BE MADE TO THE LETTER ITSELF. ALL INFORMATION SHOULD BE SUITABLY PARAPHRASED AS THIS LETTER WAS GIVEN TO THE INFORMANT BY ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, CHAIRMAN, COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, AND DISCLOSURE THAT THE BUREAU HAS THE INFORMATION WOULD CERTAINLY IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated July 25, 1961, containing information orally furnished on July 25, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAS [redacted] and [redacted]. This information was reduced to writing on July 26, 1961, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A [redacted].

b6  
b7C  
b7D

On July 25, 1961, CG 5824-S\* made available to SAS [redacted] and [redacted] a letter from ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN to the informant dated July 21, 1961. This letter was photostated by the Chicago Office on July 26, 1961, and the original is to be returned to source. One photostat has been retained by the Chicago Office and made an exhibit in Chicago file 100-33741-1B3(234). Two photostats each of this item are being enclosed herewith for the Bureau and the New York Office.

b6  
b7C

2-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)

2-Detroit (RM)

(1-100-13420) (CARL WINTER) REC-17  
(1-100-13740) (HELEN WINTER)

CNF:MDW

(see page 11 for additional copies)

100-3-69- 8635

12 JUL 31 1961

~~SECRET~~

66 AUG 14 1961

CLASSIFIED BY *SLC/SP*  
DECLASSIFY ON *OADR*

Comp 209,405 12/28/84



~~SECRET~~

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

- 1-Boston (RM)
  - (1-100-547) [REDACTED] b6 b7C
- 1-Buffalo (RM)
  - (1-100- [REDACTED]) (MILTON ROSEN)
- 22-New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
  - (1-100- [REDACTED]) (JOE BRANDT) (1-100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
  - (1-100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
  - (1-100-95550) (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)
  - (1-100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
  - (1-100-47233) (ABE UNGER) b6 b7C
  - (1-100-93665) (MIMI FRIEDLANDER)
  - (1-100-93796) [REDACTED]
  - (1-100-84994) (GUS HALL)
  - (1-100- [REDACTED])
  - (1-100-23825) (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
  - (1-100-80641) (CP, USA - Organization)
  - (1-100-54651) (CP, USA - National Groups Commission)
  - (1-100-81338) (CP, USA - Security Measures)
  - (1-100- [REDACTED]) (CP, New York State - Organization)
  - (1-100-145082) (Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties)
  - (1-100-56579) (PHIL BART)
  - (1-100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER)
  - (1-100-67234) (RUTH SHULMAN)
  - (1-100-54555) [REDACTED] b6 b7C
  - (1-100-269) (HENRY WINSTON)
  - (1-100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON)
- 4-Chicago
  - (1-A [REDACTED]) b7D
  - (1-100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
  - (1-100-3952) (GIL GREEN)

CNF:MDW  
(32)

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

July 25, 1961 (u)

It was ascertained that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Chairman, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), had corresponded with a leading figure in the CP, USA, on July 21, 1961. (u)

The verbatim contents of this letter are as follows:

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 djk/lt  
ON 6-4-96 #277,660

"224 E 12  
"July 21 - 1961 - (u)

"Dear Friend: - A horrible hot week here! Was at office both Tues & Wed - went to Natl. Groups with Jack last night. Very good - we will get real co-operation there. Have been busy with my housework - I'm afraid my little sister may come home any day. She writes now she'll be back by my birthday (Aug 7) or thereabouts. I talked with a travel agency rep. who saw her three weeks ago. He said she is small and frail but full of pep and apparently not sick. However he said she has already stayed longer than most people from temperate zones can stand - he described it as 'living in an oven,' and he thought she should come home. (u)

"Gus called during our Wed. meeting. He said no defense material had arrived there. He was wild - said to Phil: - 'Close up the office and send every one down to the Defense office!' A lot of good that would do! Apparently we must re-organize it. Mimi can not handle it alone. Carl did wonders - but now he leaves. Will be gone a week - he is so unwilling to stay but it did a lot of good. Helen did not seem to know why she was here. She did a good clean-up got in that awful back room where all kinds of stuff had accumulated. She made good suggestions, but - will they be carried out? I wonder! They say my pamphlet is out. I'll send you a copy as soon as I get one myself. Herb's book is at the printers, too. Its very good. We had a long and complicated but quite illogical and unconvincing explanation from the gentleman who occupies the office with me - as to why he abstained in the N.Y. State Com. Naturally there is now a great deal of discussion and question about it here. He said U. is wrong - also he should not have insisted on being at the meeting & P. Jr. is wrong - but people have a right to differ and we must not be too rough (u)

SECRET - 1 -  
700-3-69-8635

ENCLOSURE

CLASSIFIED BY 5668 SLK/ST  
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR  
12-28-84

~~SECRET~~

on them. He defended Milt, Ruth & Evy particularly. We listened but did not enter into a prolonged discussion, except to indicate our rejection. We postponed further discussion till G's return. ~~(u)~~

"Joe is busy as a beaver and will accomplish a lot - I'm sure Arnold may go to other districts on the project. It would be good - help to rehabilitate him. ~~(u)~~

"Have heard no more from P. I'm afraid she'll be angry at my letter. But some one has to call a halt on her prima donna attitude, for her own good. ~~(u)~~

"I have not seen or heard from your friend who was to see me. I'll not be going out there now, at least not till after Kathie comes and I see where I am at. ~~(u)~~

"I am so tired - all this upset at home, so unexpectedly, has me tired out. But I'll settle down to write again next week - please send me the exact name of the editor in chief, to whom I should address a letter. ~~(u)~~

"I'll write Annie to thank her for the lovely spoons. I sent all my mother's silver to my niece in Nigeria and bought myself (from the Guardian service) a set of stainless steel. So - its nice to have a silver spoon again. ~~(u)~~

"How are you? Better, I hope. We're all working under such pressure, its terrific. I'd like to be in Chi. next week end. But with G - Winny & I understand. Bob - its enough. I'll see Gil later. Do give him my warmest love. ~~(u)~~

"as ever,

"Affectionately,

"Elizabeth ~~(u)~~

"P.S. I washed the faces of Marx, Lenin, FDR - Jefferson - Washington - & Co. in our Bd room. You should see how nice they looked after an inch of dust is removed. 'Leadership by example!' ~~(u)~~

"E ~~(u)~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

The following mentioned in this letter are further identified:

- JACK.....JACK STACHEL
- CARL.....CARL WINTER
- HELEN.....HELEN WINTER
- "Gentleman who occupies an office with FLYNN".....BEN DAVIS, JR.
- JOE.....JOE BRANDT
- "P".....PEGGY DENNIS
- GIL.....GIL GREEN
- ARNOLD.....ARNOLD JOHNSON
- "G".....GUS HALL
- PHIL.....PHIL BART
- HERB.....HERBERT APTHEKER
- U.....ABE UNGER
- P. JR.....PAUL ROBESON, JR.
- MILT.....MILT ROSEN
- RUTH.....RUTH SHULMAN
- EVIE.....EVELYN WIENER
- KATHIE.....KATHERINE FLYNN
- "Editor in Chief".....Editor of "World Marxist Review"
- ANNIE.....ANN BURLAK TIMPSON
- WINNIE.....HENRY WINSTON
- BOB.....BOB THOMPSON

(u)  
S

~~SECRET~~

(u) ENCLOSURES (2) TO THE BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

8/ [Two photostat copies of letter prepared by  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN dtd 7/21/61]

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
(OO:NY)

Bufile 100-3-69  
CGfile 100-33741

Transmitted via CGlet to Bureau 7/27/61

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2dy/SLD  
ON 6-4-96 #272,640

CLASSIFIED BY 5668 SLD  
DECLASSIFY ON OADR

12/28/84

100-3-69-8635 SECRET

224 E 12

July 21 - 1961 -

Dear Friend; - A horrible hot-meat  
bun! Was at office both Tues + Wed -  
went to visit Gwynn with Jack last  
night. Very good - we will get real  
co-operation there. Have been busy with my  
house work - I'm afraid my little sister  
may come home any day. She writes now  
she'll be back by my birthday (Aug 7)  
or thereabouts. I talked with a travel  
agency rep. who saw her three weeks ago.  
He said she is small and frail but full  
of pep and apparently not sick. However  
he said she has already stayed longer  
than most people from temperate zones  
can stand - he described it as "living in  
an oven", and he thought she should come home.

Gus called during our Wed. meeting.  
He said <sup>definitely</sup> no material had arrived there. He  
was wild - said to Phil; - "Close up the  
office and send everyone down to the Defense  
office!" A lot of good that would do!  
Apparently we must re-organize it.

2/3  
Travis cannot be a liberal,  
and did wonder - but now he looks  
well to go on - he is so un-  
willing to stay but it did a lot of good,  
Helen did not seem to know why she  
was there, she did a good clean-up  
got a lot of awful books from where  
all kinds of stuff had accumulated,  
She made good suggestions, but - will  
they be carried out? I wonder!  
They say my pamphlet is out, I'll send you  
a copy as soon as I get one myself, Herb's  
book is at the printers, too, it's very good,  
we had a long and complicated but  
quite illigient and unconvincing ex-  
planation from the get along who occupies  
the office with me - as to why he abstained  
in the State Com, naturally there is now  
a great deal of discussion and question  
about it here, He said this is wrong -  
also he should not have insisted on being  
at the meeting + P. J. is wrong - but  
people have a right to differ and we must  
not be too rough on them, He defended  
himself + Keith + King particularly, I listened  
but did not enter into a pe-

longed discussion, except to indicate  
our rejection. We postponed further  
discussion till G's return.

Joe is buying a heater and will  
accomplish a lot - I'm sure, and  
may go to other districts on the project.  
It would be good - help to rehabilitate him,

Have heard no more from P. I'm  
afraid she'll be angry at my letters. But  
some one has to call a halt on her prima  
donna attitude, for her own good.

I have not seen or heard from your  
friend who was to see me. I'll not be  
going out there now, at least not till  
after Kethie comes and I see where she is at.

I am so tired - all this upset at  
home, so unappreciated, has me tired  
out. But I'll settle down to write  
again next week - please send me

the exact name of the Editor in Chief,  
to whom I should address a letter.

I'll write Annie to thank her for the



<sup>4</sup>/<sub>5</sub> lovely spoons, I sent all my  
mother's silver to my niece in Nigeria  
& had bought myself (from the Guardian  
service) a set of stainless steel.  
So - it's nice to have a silver spoon  
again.

How are you? Better, I hope,  
we're all working under much  
pressure, it's terrible. I'd like to be  
in C.L.S. next weekend, but with

G - writing & I understand - But -  
it's enough, I'll see Gil later.

Do give him my warmest love.

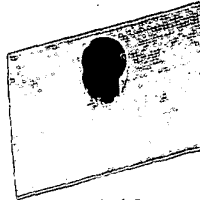
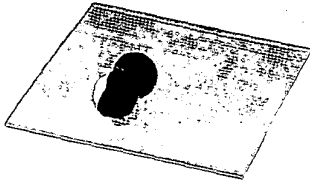
Love,

Affectionately

Elizabeth

P.S. I washed the faces of me,   
Lemin, F & R - Jefferson - - Washington  
& Co. in our Bed room, you  
should see how nice they looked  
after an week of dust is re-  
moved. "Leadership by  
example!"

?



FBI

Date: 7/26/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-26044)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT  
ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
CINAL

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Vertical stamp: JUL 28 1961]*

*S.T.*  
*[Handwritten mark]*

Re Los Angeles airtel 7/14/61 disclosing that the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) Executive Board has been reduced to four members.

advises that BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary, SCDCP, has indicated this may be a temporary arrangement but is a necessary security measure against the FBI. Meetings of the new board are to be held monthly instead of weekly, as was done previously. Former members of the board not named to the new four-member board will continue to function in their capacities as leaders of the various commissions such as education, Mexican, labor, etc. DOBBS further stated that the larger CP clubs will be divided into smaller groups.

b7D

- ③ - Bureau (AIRMAIL)(REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Francisco (INFO)(REGULAR)(REGISTERED)
- 3 - Los Angeles (100-26044)(100-43372 - CINAL)  
(100-24351 - SECURITY MEASURES)

WNP:DRU  
(7)

REC-46

100-3-69 8636

JUL 28 1961

*[Handwritten initials]*

cc -

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*

b6  
b7C

C. C. Wick

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SAC, New York (100-137309)

1 - Mr. Fox  
1 -   
August 10, 1961

b6  
b7c

Director, FBI (100-430172)

*OC P. U. S. A. - ORGANIZATION*

**WORKERS WORLD PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - WWP**

Reference is made to Chicago letter to the Bureau dated 7-27-61 captioned "CP, USA - Organization, IS - C," copies of which were furnished to New York, containing information concerning the 7-13-61 meeting of the New York State Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA).

Paragraph three of page eighteen of the above-referenced letter contains opinions and interpretations of CG 5824-S\*, who furnished the information. The informant indicates that there was some talk at the above-mentioned meeting that the people taking the "anti-leadership" position in the CPUSA may have contact with a "new group of Trotskyites" who recently split off from the main body of Trotskyites. It is believed that this group refers to the Workers World Party (WWP).

You should review logical information for any indication that the members of the CP dissident group have in the past or are at this time in contact with members of the WWP. If such contact has been made, this information should be furnished to the Bureau promptly and you should make every effort to be aware of all future contact between the two groups.

1 - New York (100-80641)  
1 - New York (100-87211)

① - 100-3-69

TPR:dew  
(8)

YELLOW  
DUPLICATE  
AUG 10 1961  
MAILED

NOT RECORDED  
174 AUG 11 1961

ORIGINAL FILED IN

*100-3-69*

AUG 15 1961

F B I

Date: 7/27/61

Transmit the following in Plain Text  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via Airtel  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: Director, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, Philadelphia (100-31723)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - ORGANIZATION;  
IS - C

C I N A L

b6  
b7C

Enclosed herewith are five copies for the Bureau and two copies for New York of a self-explanatory letterhead memorandum. This information was provided by [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA [redacted]

b7D

b6  
b7C

The letterhead memorandum was classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains information from a valuable informant on a continuing basis which, if revealed, could jeopardize the security of the informant.

b6  
b7C

- P
- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69)(Encl. 5) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-80641)(Encl. 2)(RM)
- (1 - 100-56579)(PHILIP BART)
- 4 - Philadelphia (100-31723)
- (1 - 65-1686)(THOMAS NABRIED)
- (1 - [redacted])
- (1 - 100-42205 Sub A)(CINAL, LIBRARY)

REC-9

100-3-69-8637

JUL 28 1961

b7D

JTB:MMR  
(9)

AGENCY crs, cis, G-2

REQ. REC'D \_\_\_\_\_

DATE FORW. 7-31-61

HOW FORW. MS

BY JWB/ham

b6  
b7C

Approved: [Signature] Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
July 27, 1961

Re: Meeting of National Executive  
Committee, Communist Party,  
USA, August 12-13, 1961

A source advised July 24, 1961 that THOMAS NABRIED received a letter dated July 14, 1961, from PHIL BART announcing that the next meeting of the National Executive Committee would be held August 12-13, 1961, (place not specified but believed to be New York City) beginning at 10 a.m. The agenda of this meeting is:

1. Unity against reaction and the war danger.  
(The ultra-right, KENNEDY and the role of progressives).
2. The defense of the Party and the struggle to advance democratic rights.
3. Press.

The source could not state whether THOMAS NABRIED plans to attend the National Executive Committee meeting.

The source on July 24, 1961, described THOMAS NABRIED as District Chairman of the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware and a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA. The source also described PHIL BART as National Organization Secretary, Communist Party, USA.

This document is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-3-69-8637  
ENCLOSURE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
July 27, 1961

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. 100-31723

Title	COMMUNIST PARTY, USA ORGANIZATION
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Letterhead memorandum dated July 27, 1961, Philadelphia.

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

100-31723-67-8637  
ENCLOSURE

SAC, New York (100-128814)

August 2, 1961

REC-20

Director, FBI (100-3-69) - 8638

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*W*

Reurairtel 7/28/61. Referenced airtel sets forth that James Torney has been placed in charge of all defense work. You noted that it is not known whether Mimi Friedlander, who formerly headed the defense work, has been relieved of this assignment entirely or is to assist Torney.

It is imperative that the Bureau be kept fully apprised of who is responsible for the defense work of the Communist Party. You are instructed to promptly resolve the current status of Mimi Friedlander.

JWL:cdb  
(4)  
*cdk*

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RECEIVED  
AUG 2 1961  
COMM-FBI

*Rose*  
*J*

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

Date: 7/28/61

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

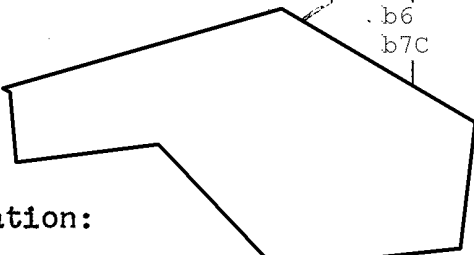
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-128814)  
SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C



b6  
b7C

Following submitted for information:

NY 2353-S\* on 7/26/61, made available information reflecting that JAMES TORMEY has been removed from his position as Kings County CP Organizer and has been placed in charge of all "defense work". This source advised that WILLIAM ALBERTSON will temporarily become KCCP Organizer. (u)

NY 2318-S\* on 7/26/61, made available information reflecting that JAMES TORMEY as of that date is the new co-ordinator of "defense work" for the CP, USA. The source was unable to advise whether or not MIMI FRIEDLANDER, who formerly headed the "defense work", has been relieved of this work entirely or is to assist TORMEY. (u)

- 4-Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
- (1-100-434917) (Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties)
- 1-New York (100-15946) (422)
- 1-New York (100-129629) (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (414)
- 1-New York (100-93665) (MIMI FRIEDLANDER) (421)
- 1-New York (100-145082) (Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties) (415)
- 1-New York (100-26603-C43) (KCCP) (422)
- 1-New York (100-128814)

b6  
b7C

TJM: jmk  
(11)

REC-20

Class. & Ext. By 1103 S/ML/JS 8/22/96

Reason-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

Date of Review 5-4-92

205,174

5-4-82

100-3-69-8638

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved: 8/12/61

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-113411



FBI

Date: 7/13/61

Transmit the following PLAIN TEXT

Via AIRTEL RM

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NY (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
(CINAL)  
(OO: New York)

b6  
b7c

There are transmitted herewith nine copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning a meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the CPUSA held in NYC, on 7/12/61.

The confidential source utilized was NY 2359-S\*.

This memorandum has been classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information from a source the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CPUSA and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

- 4 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Encls. 9) (RM)  
(1 - 100-3-81) (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
- 2 - Chicago (Encls. 2) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (MORRIS CHILDS)
- 2 - Detroit (Encls. 2) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (CARL WINTERS)
- 2 - Newark (Encls. 2) (RM)  
(1 - 100- ) (PAT TOOHEY)

COPIES CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

1 - NY (100-80641) (415)

HCO: KMD  
(25)

REC-9

100-3-69-8639

EX - 107

JUL 14 1961

AGENCY bu, bu, f-2, RAG, etc.  
 REQ. REC'D \_\_\_\_\_  
 DATE FORW. 7-14-61  
 HOW FORW. 2/5  
 BY PEF/Boone

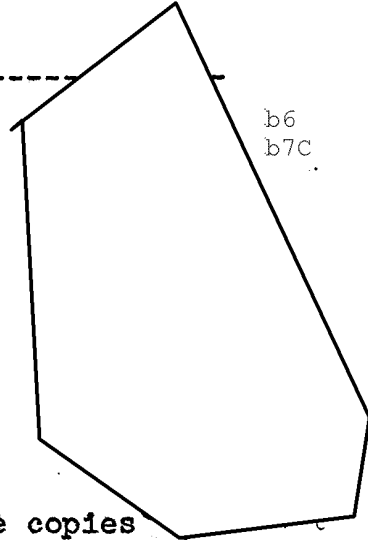
INT. SEC.

CENTRAL RESEARCH

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-69-8639

66 AUG 3 1961

*Handwritten initials: F, mm*



NY 100-80641

COPIES CONTINUED

1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL)(415)  
1 - NY 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)(415)  
1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)(415)  
1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)(415)  
1 - NY 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)(414)  
1 - NY 101-559 (JESUS COLON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)(414)  
1 - NY 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN)(415)  
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)(415)  
1 - NY 100-128255 (DANNY RUBIN)(415)  
1 - NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)(415)  
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART)(415)  
1 - NY 100-86624 (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)(415)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. Bufile  
100-3-69

New York, New York  
July 13, 1961

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America -  
Organization

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on July 12, 1961, that a meeting of the National Board and invited guests of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) was held in Communist Party (CP) Headquarters, New York City, on that date.

Among those in attendance were:

Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA  
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Chairman, CPUSA  
Jack Stachel, member of National Committee (NC),  
CPUSA  
Pat Toohey, member of NC, CPUSA, Chairman of New  
Jersey, CPUSA  
James Jackson, member of NC, CPUSA and editor of  
"The Worker"  
Ben Davis, National Secretary, CPUSA  
Jesus Colon, member of Editorial Staff of "The  
Worker"  
William L. Patterson, Vice Chairman, New York  
District (NYD), CPUSA  
Betty Gannett, Educational Director, NYD, CPUSA  
Morris Childs, Chairman of International Affairs  
Committee, CPUSA  
James Allen, member of NC, CPUSA  
Irving Potash, Labor Secretary, CPUSA  
Danny Rubin, National Youth Director, CPUSA  
Arnold Johnson, member of NC, CPUSA  
Phil Bart, Organizational Secretary, CPUSA  
Carl Winter, member of NC, CPUSA from Detroit,  
Michigan.

This document contains neither recommendations  
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and  
its contents are not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-3-69-8639  
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America -  
Organization

The meeting opened with James Jackson being nominated as chairman. Gus Hall proposed that the next National Executive Committee (NEC), CPUSA meeting be held August 12 and 13, 1961. Hall explained that it will be an NEC meeting, but some NC, CPUSA members from the middle west and the east will be invited.

Rat Toohey gave a report on his recent trip to Puerto Rico. Toohey said that he had been received warmly by the comrades in Puerto Rico. He said the Puerto Rican comrades had arranged three general meetings for him as well as a three-day detailed trip all over the island and particularly in the sugar, coffee, pineapple and tobacco areas. Arrangements were also made for him to speak to trade union leaders, leaders of the independence movement, Nationalist Party leaders and with certain leaders of the popular Democratic Party. Toohey related that on his own he had arranged meetings with a number of former leaders of the Party, who have split and are now in other activities.

Toohey said that the Party in Puerto Rico uses very little material in terms of leaflets and pamphlets due to a lack of cadre as well as technical and financial means. He said the only thing he saw being used were "packets of stuff" received from individuals in the Socialist countries. He said the Puerto Rican comrades were critical of the Party publications in the United States because they did not deal with Puerto Rico in its struggle against American Imperialism and seemed completely oblivious of them.

Gus Hall recommended that Toohey prepare an article on his trip to be published in "Political Affairs" and possibly "The Worker." Hall was of the opinion that a Foreign Affairs Commission should be set up immediately and their first task would be to go into the question

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America -  
Organization

of Latin America and Puerto Rico. It was decided that Toohy would prepare a draft of his article on Puerto Rico and that another discussion be had on it before publication.

A discussion was held regarding the Party's defense committee. James Allen suggested that people be requested, in view of the Supreme Court hearing coming up regarding registration of the CP, to write to the Attorney General of the United States to favor a rehearing. Allen suggested that people be requested to write the President, Congressmen and Senators in this regard.

James Jackson said that a post card system be adopted wherein people receiving the card could detach part of it which would be self-addressed to the Attorney General. He said such a system would result in greater numbers and would indicate certain public opinion.

In "The Worker", an East Coast Communist weekly newspaper, issue of March 5, 1961, the editor of "Political Affairs" identified the latter publication as an organ of the National Committee of the CPUSA, published monthly.

FBI

Date: 7/28/61

Transmit the following PLAIN TEXT

Via AIRTEL

RM

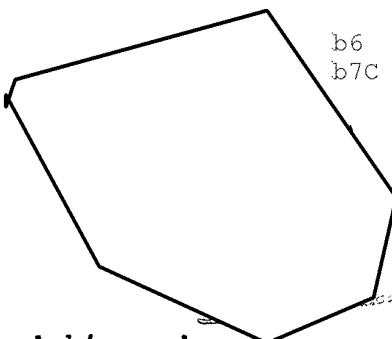
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NY (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
(CINAL)  
(OO: New York)

f-6

b6  
b7C



There are transmitted herewith eight copies of a letterhead memorandum concerning a meeting of CPUSA functionaries and invited guests held in CP Headquarters, NYC, on 7/26/61.

The Confidential Source utilized was NY 2359-S\*.

The attached memorandum has been classified "Confidential" because it contains information from a source, the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CPUSA and such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Encls. 8) (RM)
- 1 - NY (100-80640) (CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-86624) (CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-80644) (CPUSA-YOUTH MATTERS) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-9369) ( ) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON) (414)
- 1 - NY (100-32826) (JAMES ALLEN) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-128255) (DANIEL RUBIN) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-80641) (415)

b6  
b7C

EX-113  
100-3-69-8640

27 JUL 29 1961

ENCLOSURE

JAC:KMD  
(17)

received to Dir, On 6/7/61  
DATE FORW. 8-1-61  
HOW FORW. afs  
BY E.F.F./bess

FOX  
INT. 7

50 AUG 4 1961

100-3-69-8640



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Bufile 100-3-69

New York, New York  
July 28, 1961

Re: Communist Party,  
United States of America -  
Organization  
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on July 26, 1961, that a meeting of functionaries of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) and invited guests was held at Communist Party (CP) Headquarters, New York City, on that date. Among those in attendance were:

Phil Bart, Organizational Secretary, CPUSA  
Jack Stachel, National Committee (NC) member, CPUSA  
Ted Bassett, member of New York District (NYD) Committee, CPUSA  
Ben Davis, National Secretary, CPUSA  
William L. Patterson, Vice Chairman, NYD, CPUSA  
James Allen, NC member, CPUSA  
Daniel Rubin, Youth Director, CPUSA  
James Jackson, NC member and editor of "The Worker"  
Irving Potash, Labor Secretary, CPUSA  
Arnold Johnson, NC member, CPUSA

Bassett reported on the recent convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). He described it as successful in that a good, militant program was adopted. He said that one of the more important developments centered around the Civil Rights question. He noted that approximately 750 delegates went to Washington where two important events took place, (1) visits to senators and congressmen on the Civil Rights question and (2) visits of delegations to the White House.

According to Bassett, the New York delegation to the convention wanted to picket the White House, but a sharp order came out not to picket under penalty of suspension from the NAACP.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-3-69-8640  
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, United States Of America  
Organization  
Internal Security - C

William Patterson proposed that the NAACP convention be discussed by the Labor and Negro Commissions jointly and separately and that out of these meetings there should come a list of proposals which not only should indicate support for what has taken place, but should even go beyond. Patterson described Adam Clayton Powell's speech to the convention as "most important" and recommended that it be printed in full in "The Worker."

Daniel Rubin commented "we had some Negro youth comrades there who were electrifying" but they were dissatisfied with the "lack of say" in the functioning of the organization and the failure of the national leadership to take the lead in the organizing of their struggle.

James Allen reported on the international situation stating that President Kennedy's speech indicated there are developments of fear and panic particularly in view of the world relation of forces. He claimed the President's justification of policy is based on misrepresentation of the Soviet position in relation to Berlin and Germany. According to Allen, the purpose of the Kennedy Administration with respect to Berlin and the German issue itself, amounts to moving up to a position of strength from which to carry on whatever machinations the Administration may feel obliged to undertake.

Allen said that the second main aim of the "Kennedy line" as developed in his speech on July 25, 1961, is to create the necessary atmosphere to get a speed-up in military mobilization and achieve other domestic objectives. He asserted that President Kennedy is using the "so-called Berlin crisis" to speed up the objectives made clear by him in his defense message of last March and also to bring in additional proposals, including additional appropriations, and increases in the armed forces. These add up to a further addition to the

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: Communist Party, United States of America  
Organization  
Internal Security - C

military component of the economy. All things add up to the justification of building up the West German military power.

Allen concluded that the emphasis of the CPUSA must be on stressing the danger of a world war.

Arnold Johnson said a technique must be figured out on "how to be sharp with Kennedy" and the CPUSA must show that its proposal is not to increase war danger but to eliminate a war provocation.

William Patterson said the CPUSA must make every effort to show this speech is not an expression of the American people. He posed the questions "Can we get SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) to come forth and popularize their line in relation to this speech? Can we get the other peace forces to come forward? What statements will labor make?"

Ben Davis alleged that President Kennedy is putting the whole country on a war footing to save the freedom of two million West Berliners while at the same time 18 million Negroes in America are not being given the consideration they deserve. He said "this must be exploited for all its worth."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist weekly publication.

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[Redacted]

*South Bend, Ind. 7/7/61*

IP 100-3474

*bag*

Re: ORGANIZATION  
○ COMMUNIST PARTY - USA  
INDIANA DISTRICT  
INDIANAPOLIS DIVISION  
April 1, 1961, through  
June 30, 1961  
Bureau File: 100-3-69

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN  
100-3-16-856

I. STRUCTURE AND PHYSICAL SETUP OF COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, INDIANA DISTRICT

A. Description of Area  
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The territory covered by the Indiana District, CP - USA, includes the entire State of Indiana.

The 1960 census for the state of Indiana is recorded as 4,662,498.

B. Headquarters  
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The CP at South Bend, Indiana, continues to maintain a house trailer located at the rear of VAUD BENNETT's residence, 1435 Mould Street, Niles, Michigan, which is used by the Party to store supplies, literature, and a Mimeograph machine.

(IP T-1, June 19, 1961)

II. PRINCIPAL COMMUNIST PARTY OFFICIALS  
COMMUNIST PARTY - USA, INDIANA DISTRICT

A. EMANUEL BLUM  
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EMANUEL BLUM, who resides in Chicago, Ill., is Chairman and Educational Director of the Indiana CP and is a member of the National Committee, CP - USA.

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(IP T-1, June 19, 1961) ———

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BLUM has been named Midwest Coordinator in Steel, CP - USA, and as such will have charge of coordinating Party work in Steel in both Illinois and Indiana.

(IP T-2, April 21, 1961)  
(IP T-3, May 22, 1961)

BLUM attended a meeting of the State Committee, CP of Illinois, in Chicago on March 19, 1961. At this meeting he was named to serve on an administrative committee of the Illinois CP District, which committee will meet weekly and carry out decisions of the Illinois State CP Committee.

(IP T-4, March 21, 1961)  
(IP T-5, March 29, 1961)

BLUM attended a meeting of the Johnstone Club of the CP of Illinois in Chicago on March 30, 1961, at which time he gave a brief resume of the Party work being done in Indiana and his plans concerning future work in Steel in Illinois and Indiana under his new role as Midwest Coordinator in Steel.

(IP T-2, April 21, 1961)  
(IP T-3, April 3, 1961)

BLUM has been greatly distressed by the illness of his wife, VERA, and as a result his Party activities in Indiana have dwindled to almost complete inactivity in recent weeks.

(IP T-1, June 19, 1961)

**B. VAUD BENNETT**  
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BENNETT is the Organizational and Financial Secretary for the Indiana CP District. In addition, he is "The Worker" Press Director for Indiana and member of the National Auto Commission (NAC), CP - USA.

(IP T-1, June 19, 1961)

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C. SIMON BOORDA  
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BOORDA is Literature Director for the Indiana CP District and Financial Secretary for the South Bend - Elkhart, Indiana, area. He has suffered two heart attacks during 1961; and, as a result, his Party activities have been greatly curtailed.

(IP T-1, June 19, 1961)

D. AUDREY LYON  
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LYON is Chairman of the CP Women's Club, South Bend, Indiana.

(IP T-6, June 21, 1961)

E. NORMAN BERKSHIRE  
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BERKSHIRE is Chairman of the Elkhart CP Club, Elkhart, Indiana.

(IP T-7, June 23, 1961)

F. ART ADAMS  
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ADAMS is the Organizational Secretary of the Gary CP Steel and Community Club, Gary, Indiana, and is also a member of the National Steel Commission (NSC), CP - USA.

(IP T-8, June 20, 1961)

G. JOHN BOXLEY  
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BOXLEY is Secretary and Treasurer of the Gary CP Steel and Community Club, Gary, Indiana, and is also a member of the National Steel Commission, CP - USA.

(IP T-9, June 22, 1961)

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### III. CP ORGANIZATION IN INDIANA

#### A. Indiana State CP Committee -----

The Indiana CP State Committee is the controlling body for the Party in Indiana and is composed of the following individuals:

EMANUEL BLUM, State Chairman  
VAUD BENNETT, Organizational and Financial Secretary  
SIMON BOORDA, Literature Director  
ART ADAMS  
NORMAN BERKSHIRE  
JUBLE HAIRSTON  
FANNIE NORRICK  
JOHN BOXLEY  
JOSEPHINE BUSH

No meetings of the above committee have been held for the past several months.

(IP T-1, June 21, 1961)  
(IP T-7, June 23, 1961)  
(IP T-8, June 20, 1961)  
(IP T-9, June 22, 1961)

#### B. Indiana State CP Board -----

The Indiana State CP Board reportedly is composed of EMANUEL BLUM, VAUD BENNETT, and one additional individual. When BLUM and BENNETT meet in South Bend, SIMON BOORDA is also usually included in the meeting; and this is considered to be a meeting of the State Board. However, when BLUM and BENNETT meet in Lake County to discuss problems relating to that area, they meet with either ART ADAMS or JOHN BOXLEY and, likewise, consider this a State Board meeting.

(IP T-1, June 21, 1961)

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IV. MEETINGS AND ACTIVITIES RELATING  
TO ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

It was learned on March 29, 1961, that on March 23, 1961, EMANUEL BLUM discussed Party organization in Indiana in general with Party leaders in Indiana, at which time he expressed the opinion that he felt each member in Gary, Indiana, should be re-evaluated in order to determine which field or particular type of Party work each member was best fitted to perform. At this meeting BLUM emphasized the importance of obtaining additional members within the steel industry. He expressed extreme displeasure over the attitude of certain members in the Party in Gary, whom he accused of using disruptive tactics and refusing to cooperate with him in Party matters. Certain members of the Party in Gary, Indiana, continue to complain to BLUM over the lack of actual organizational work being carried on by the Party in that area. BLUM instructed that Party leaders in Gary should concentrate on building the Party with emphasis on obtaining additional members in steel, if at all possible, and to bypass those members who have been a disruptive influence to Party organization in the past in that area.

(IP T-1, March 29, 1961)

The Party in Lake County, Indiana, arranged for VICTOR PERLO, a writer for "The Worker," to speak before a Party gathering in Gary, Indiana, on March 23, 1961. Party leaders in Gary were extremely displeased over the failure of so few Party members to attend. PERLO spoke on the economic problems in this country and stated that the solution was to establish a society similar to that in the U.S.S.R. and other Socialist countries.

(IP T-8, March 24, 1961)  
(IP T-10, March 27, 1961)

A meeting of the Gary CP Steel and Community Club was held April 23, 1961, in Gary, Indiana, and presided over by VAUD BENNETT. Discussion centered around the lack of Party organization in the Lake County area and the continued decline in Party activity throughout the State of Indiana.

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BENNETT expressed the opinion that he felt Party members in Steel in the Lake County area have been wasting their time and efforts by opposing candidates running for union office in the steel unions who they felt were anti-Communist. He pointed out that due to the small number of Communists voting their opposition in most cases would not affect the eventual outcome of the election; further, that Party members in any event were going to have to work with union leadership regardless of who was elected. BENNETT felt that the Party should concentrate on building the Party and working with union leaders, particularly on questions where both the Party and union leaders were in agreement.

BENNETT continued that he felt opposition to non-Communist candidates for local union office would only weaken the Party and actually accomplish nothing. Members present at this meeting after discussion agreed that BENNETT's approach to this question in Steel was completely logical and they agreed to go along with his suggestion in this matter.

(IP T-1, April 26, 1961)  
(IP T-10, May 1, 1961)

It was learned the latter part of April, 1961, that the Elkhart CP Club, Elkhart, Indiana, was experiencing difficulty in getting members to attend regular meetings. SIMON BOORDA, who in the past has organized and in most instances chaired meetings of this group, has been unable to participate in recent meetings due to ill health and as a result, activity in the Elkhart Club has decreased considerably during reporting period.

(IP T-7, April 24, 1961)

It was learned on May 22, 1961, that at a CP meeting in Gary, Indiana, on May 21, 1961, members were instructed to become active in some type of mass organizational work, such as churches, Parent-Teacher Associations, and other organizations, and when the opportunity presented itself to promote the Party line wherever possible in these respective organizations.

(IP T-10, May 22, 1961)

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It was learned on April 26, 1961, that a Party leader in Indiana commented to the effect on April 22, 1961, that Party activity in Indiana was at a very low ebb. EMANUEL BLUM has not been as active in the Party work in Lake County as heretofore, due to his wife's illness; and, as a result, BENNETT has attempted to keep the Party activity going in both South Bend and Lake County, Indiana, areas. Another contributing factor to the Party's inactivity is the fact that SIMON BOORDA, who in the past has been extremely active in Party affairs in the South Bend and Elkhart area, has suffered two heart attacks during 1961 and, as a result, has not been able to participate as in the past.

(IP T-1, April 26, 1961)  
(IP T-8, April 28, 1961)

The combined CP Steel and Community Club in Lake County, Indiana, during the past three months period has met about once each month. However, turnout continues to decrease, and at the past few meetings only five or six members have been present. Little has been accomplished at these meetings, and activity at the present time in Lake County is at almost a complete stand still; however, members continue to maintain contact with one another, but there is little organized activity. The decline in activity in the Lake County, Indiana, area is due largely to the fact that EMANUEL BLUM has not been able to participate due to the recent illness of his wife.

(IP T-11, June 19, 1961)  
(IP T-9, June 19, 1961)  
(IP T-12, June 22, 1961)

V. THE PARTY STAND IN INDIANA SUBSEQUENT  
TO SUPREME COURT DECISIONS

It was learned on June 19, 1961, that the recent Supreme Court decision requiring the Party to register has produced considerable speculation as to what line the Party will take in Indiana; however, as of June 19, 1961, no firm line of action had been developed. The consensus of opinion among Indiana CP leaders seem to be that the Party in Indiana would dissolve. Meetings, if held, would be held as Press Club or Labor Forum



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meetings. No Party dues, as such, would be collected and no records would be maintained; and if such meetings were held, extreme security will be exercised.

(IP T-1, June 19, 1961)

It was learned June 20, 1961, that EMANUEL BLUM commented that date concerning the recent Supreme Court decision and reportedly stated in effect that he did not see how the Party in Indiana could continue to function. He felt that there was no direct Party organization in operation in Indiana; and, furthermore, since the Party in Indiana had not held a state convention this year, in his opinion legally there was no official Indiana CP District in operation. He considered it foolish for the Party to register members within 30 days as any individual so registered would be subject to prosecution under the membership provision of the Smith Act. BLUM continued that since there had been no CP directive in this matter it was his opinion that the Party in Indiana should consider itself dissolved and disbanded.

BLUM further commented that insofar as the Party in Lake County was concerned it was practically dissolved anyway as a result of factionalism on the part of certain Party members in that area. BLUM reportedly stated he would discontinue his Party contacts in Indiana, however, will continue to write occasional articles for "The Worker." He felt that minimum contacts should be continued with Party members in Lake County but not as Party functions. Members may be contacted for contributions and subscriptions to "The Worker" but for no other reason. He instructed on the above date that there should be no more meetings in Indiana under the name CP or under the sponsorship of CP - USA. BLUM indicated he will be in contact with some of the Party members from time to time, however, only to obtain news items for "Worker" articles which he will prepare, that he will no longer make any contacts in Indiana as a representative of the CP - USA.

(IP T-8, June 20, 1961)

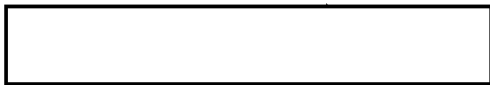
It was learned on June 26, 1961, that a Party meeting was held in South Bend, Indiana, on June 24, 1961, at which time the recent Supreme Court decision was discussed. It was brought out

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at this meeting that henceforth any future meeting would be referred to as meeting of "The Indiana Free Press Committee." It was felt that in this manner the word Communist Party will be dropped altogether, and no future reference will be made thereto. Plans were made for future meetings of this committee; however, it was emphasized that extreme security measures would be mandatory.

(IP T-15, June 26, 1961)

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7/5/61

SJ 100-20  
Period: 4/1/61 - 6/30/61

O.C.P.U.S.A.

ORGANIZATION  
(Bufile 100-3-69)

The following information unless otherwise indicated was reported by SJ T-1, SJ T-2 and SJ T-3:

According to the publication, "Puerto Rico, Ayer, Hoy y Manana" (Puerto Rico, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow), by JUAN SANTOS RIVERA, President of the PCP, the Communist Party of Puerto Rico was founded in Ponce, Puerto Rico, on September 23, 1934. According to SJ T-1, SJ T-2 and SJ T-3, the PCP is a communist party in its own right and not a district organization of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA), although it is based on the same Marxist-Leninist principles of the CP,USA.

The CP, USA has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The PCP covers all of Puerto Rico, which has a population of approximately two and one half million people. However, there is no organized activity outside of the San Juan Metropolitan area. Until recently the PCP had no group, section or district breakdown and all members met together on a weekly basis at the home of GERTRUDIS MELENDEZ, PCP Treasurer and her husband JUAN BAUTISTA PFPEZ, PCP member. Some records are kept at the home of JUAN SANTOS RIVERA but for the most part party records are kept in MELENDEZ' home.

The officers of the PCP are as follows:

- JUAN SANTOS RIVERA - President
- GERTRUDIS MELENDEZ - Treasurer
- JORGE MAYSONET HERNANDEZ - Secretary of Education

SANTOS and MAYSONET are full time employees of the PCP and ostensibly are paid by the PCP.

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SJ 100-20  
Period - 4/1/61 - 6/30/61

Activities of PCP Leaders

JUAN SANTOS RIVERA

SJ T-2 stated on June 25, 1961 that he feels that JUAN SANTOS RIVERA is ill. He believes that an accumulation of worries have overcome SANTOS. Source stated that he feels SANTOS is worried about possible contempt action by the U. S. Government against him and others in connection with House Committee on Un-American Activities hearings held in Puerto Rico in November of 1959. In addition to that SANTOS' wife died in early 1961 and according to the source SANTOS seems to be entirely responsible for the welfare of his crippled son. SANTOS' son was injured in the Korean War and aside from both arms and legs being virtually useless he is considered a little bit mentally unbalanced. According to SJ T-2 the son can do nothing for himself. Finally, the recent decision of the U. S. Supreme Court which eventually would require the Communist parties of the United States to register is believed by SANTOS to also affect the PCP. He and other leaders of the PCP fear imminent arrest as a result of the Supreme Court decision.

SJ T-4 stated on [redacted] SANTOS at his home several days before and SANTOS was in bed. SANTOS told SJ T-4 that the injuries he received in New York City in late 1959 were bothering him forcing him to remain in bed. Source said that he believed that SANTOS received rather severe leg, hip and head injuries while in New York City.

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GERTRUDIS MELENDEZ

As set out above, MELENDEZ is Treasurer of the PCP and weekly meetings are held at her home.

JORGE MAYSONET HERNANDEZ

MAYSONET, paid employee of the PCP, according to SJ T-2 seems to have lost interest in party activities insofar as originating or instigating any of these activities. Source stated that he believes that all the members feel that in the absence of SANTOS, MAYSONET should be the one to lead the PCP. This, however, MAYSONET is not doing.

SJ 107-20

Period: 4/1/61 - 6/30/61

PCP Front Organization

CONSEJO PUERTORRIQUENO DE PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ  
(Puerto Rican Council of Partisans of Peace)  
(PRCPP)

A characterization of the PRCPP  
is contained in the appendix hereto.

SJ T-2 stated on June 25, 1961 that as far as he knows the PRCPP is inactive and no meetings have been held for many months. JOSE ENAMORADO CUESTA is probably the only member of the PRCPP although in the past ENAMORADO has indicated a desire to enlist the assistance of university students to further the program of the PRCPP. ENAMORADO has indicated on various occasions that he has not encountered too much success with the young people.

SU 100-818

rept Salt Lake City  
7-5-61

SA. Delmar L. Larson

DETAILS:

C.P.  
ORGANIZATION

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Structure and Physical Setup

SU T-1 on August 22, 1960, advised that on May 24, 1960, Communist Party (CP) National Headquarters billed the Utah District for fifteen copies of GUS HALL's pamphlet, "We Must Raise Our Sights." Informant stated that at the bottom of this document was an addendum indicating the bill had been returned to CP National Headquarters. The addendum stated:

"By the way, we're still having problems with our mail. We have a P.O. Box - 2485, but most of our mail is still going to individual members' homes. This causes an unnecessary delay in communication between yourselves and our Executive Committee. If you see Mr. Hathaway ask him not to forget us in Salt Lake City; especially since he promised us news and a decision from the center on a most important question.

"Comradely yours,

Robert Archuleta  
Treasurer  
Salt Lake City, Utah"

SU T-2 on June 1, 1961, advised Utah is a separate CP district and that there are two CP branches in Utah, located at Salt Lake City and nearby Provo, Utah. According to this informant, mail is received from National CP Headquarters through P. O. Box 2485 at Salt Lake City, which was originally rented by CARL GILBERT, a member of the CP. According to informant, prior to August, 1960, GILBERT usually picked up the mail from this post office box and turned it over to CP officials. Since August, 1960, another party has been picking up the mail. Informant stated this post office box has been used as a mailing address by the Party in Utah for mailing out literature. Informant stated that CP branch meetings in Utah are held on alternate Tuesdays, while the Utah State Committee

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of the CP has usually met once a month. Informant stated ROBERT ARCHULETA at a recent CP meeting stated Utah State Committee meetings in the future would not be held once a month but rather would be held at more infrequent intervals when there is business to be transacted.

The above information as furnished by SU T-1 and SU T-2 indicates Utah is a separate CP district.

Biographical Data On  
Principal Officers

FREDRICK LEE HEUSER, Sandy, Utah, who was affiliated with the CP in Utah from 1948 to May, 1955, as a member and officer, has advised that WAYNE HOLLEY in 1955 was Utah State Chairman of the CP; further, that BERNICE CURTIS at that time was Salt Lake County Chairman, and that THEODORE LEROY HOUSTON in 1952 was a member of the three-man Utah State Board of the CP. In that year HOUSTON went underground upon orders of the Party, but returned to Utah in November, 1956.

SU T-3 on May 25, 1955, and SU T-4 on February 25, 1957, advised that in 1954 and 1955 HOUSTON was a member of the Colorado State Board of the CP.

According to SU T-1 and SU T-5, mention has been made to the effect that in 1960 ROBERT ARCHULETA was Treasurer of the Utah CP District.

On June 1, 1961, SU T-2 advised that WAYNE DALLAS HOLLEY of Mapleton, Utah, was Chairman of the CP in Utah. According to informant, all principal CP meetings are handled by HOLLEY as Chairman and he leads the discussions; furthermore, when matters are discussed at local branch meetings, two members of the Utah State Committee who are present usually state that these matters should be cleared with HOLLEY before any further action is taken.

SU 100-818

Re: WAYNE DALLAS HOLLEY

HOLLEY was born November 23, 1910, at Mapleton, Utah. He is married, has two children, and permanently resides in Mapleton on a small farm with his parents. During the pertinent period of this report HOLLEY has worked regularly at the U. S. Steel Mill at nearby Provo, Utah.

SU T-2 on June 1, 1961, advised that all major decisions regarding CP activity in Utah have to be cleared through HOLLEY.

On June 7, 1961, SU T-2 advised there was a special meeting of all CP members in Utah, which was held at the home of T. L. HOUSTON, Sandy, Utah. The occasion was a visit by SAM KUSHNER of Chicago, Illinois, who represented National CP Headquarters and who had been sent to Utah at the request of the Utah CP over the last nine months. Informant stated WAYNE HOLLEY acted as Chairman of this meeting and presented KUSHNER to the group.

On June 1, 1961, SU T-2 advised that during April, 1961, HOLLEY, representing the Utah District of the CP, made a trip to Chicago, Illinois, to contact Party officials there and to seek advice on several problems in Utah. According to informant, HOLLEY upon his return stated that members of the CP at Chicago were so security conscious that he was unable to contact any member and discuss his problems. It was mainly because of this disappointment that brought KUSHNER to Utah as stated above.

On June 23, 1961, SU T-6 advised that HOLLEY continues to serve as President of the Public Affairs Forum of Utah County (PAFUC), a characterization of which is contained in the appendix hereto.

Re: BERNICE CURTIS

CURTIS was born October 19, 1907, in Idaho. She is married to JOSEPH ALFRED CURTIS and both reside at 2122 Roberta Street, Salt Lake City, Utah. For several years and during the period of this report CURTIS has been regularly employed as an assistant to Dr. ROY A. DARKE, Psychiatrist, Salt Lake City.



SU 100-318

On June 7, 1961, SU T-2 advised CURTIS is Educational Director of the Salt Lake City Branch of the CP. She attends meetings of this branch regularly, some of them being held in her home, and assigns educational topics for branch discussion. According to informant, these discussions during the pertinent period of this report have been taken from chapters in the book entitled "Materialism and the Dialectical Method" by MAURICE CORNFORTH.

Re: THEODORE LEROY HOUSTON

HOUSTON was born July 24, 1902, at Coulton, Utah. He and his wife reside at Sandy, Utah. On or about April 1, 1961, HOUSTON was laid off by his employer, the Wilford H. Hansen Stone Quarry in Sandy, and he is not now regularly employed. However, he is employed for short periods of time and by various neighbors and acquaintances usually doing carpenter work.

SU T-2 on June 1, 1961, advised during the past three months HOUSTON has regularly attended meetings of the Salt Lake City Branch of the CP.

On June 7, 1961, SU T-2 advised that a special meeting consisting of all members of the CP in Utah was held in HOUSTON's home, Sandy, Utah, for the purpose of hearing a talk by SAM KUSHNER of Chicago, Illinois, who was in Utah on behalf of National CP Headquarters.

Re: [redacted]

[redacted] was born [redacted] at [redacted].  
[redacted] On November 26, 1953, he married [redacted] and  
this couple now has two children. They reside at [redacted]  
[redacted] is employed as a [redacted]  
[redacted] also in Salt Lake City, but  
since the first week in June, 1961, has been on summer vacation.

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SU T-2 on June 1, 1961, advised [redacted] is a member of and regularly attends meetings of the Salt Lake City Branch of the CP. SU T-2 stated that in the past three months several branch meetings have been held in [redacted] home. SU T-2 stated that at these branch meetings the chairman usually asks

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SU 100-818

for any business that was transacted at meetings of the Utah State Committee which would affect the Salt Lake City Branch. Informant stated [redacted] is a member of the Utah State Committee and usually reports on the business transacted at meetings of that group.

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On May 18, 1961, SU T-2 advised [redacted] attended a CP meeting at Salt Lake City, Utah, May 16, 1961, and at that time he reported there had not been any State Committee meetings during the past month. According to informant, [redacted] subsequently stated that State Committee meetings in the future would be held at infrequent intervals; that meetings would be held when there is business to be transacted.

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SU T-7 on March 27, 1961, advised [redacted] is one of the instructors at a series of educational classes which began in January, 1961, and are being held twice a month for the purpose of indoctrinating several prospective members of the CP. This informant stated that topics for discussion at these classes are taken from a mimeographed outline published by the Educational Department, CP, USA. SU T-7 advised that on April 11 and 25, 1961, [redacted] was an instructor at two of these Marxist classes.

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SU T-8 on May 10, 1961, advised [redacted] was an instructor at the Marxist class held at Salt Lake City on May 9, 1961.

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SU T-2 advised on June 7, 1961, that [redacted] was present at a special meeting of all CP members in Utah held at the home of T. L. HOUSTON on June 4, 1961, at which time SAM KUSHNER of Chicago, Illinois, was present and gave a talk.

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On April 18, 1961, SU T-2 advised that members of the Utah Council For Constitutional Liberties, a characterization of which is contained in the appendix hereto, met at Salt Lake City on April 14, 1961. This meeting was held to hear several tape recordings.

On June 1, 1961, SU T-2 advised there has been only one meeting of members of the Utah Council For Constitutional Liberties in the past three-month period, and that it appeared this organization would disband possibly this year.

SU 100-818

SU T-6 on June 14, 1961, advised that members of the PAFUC continue to hold regular meetings at Provo, Utah, on alternate Tuesdays. Informant stated that approximately fifteen to twenty people attend meetings of this group.

SU T-2 on June 7, 1961, advised a special meeting of all Communist Party members in Utah was held at the home of THEODORE LEROY HOUSTON, Sandy, Utah, June 4, 1961, at which time SAM KUSHNER, Chicago, Illinois, representing national Communist Party headquarters, stated Communists should not cooperate in any way with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). He stated SWP methods and work only confuse Communist Party issues. He stated it was a mistake to allow a representative of the SWP to give a talk at a meeting in the fall of 1960. KUSHNER then mentioned support of ALBERT C. SKINNER, who was running for office of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (IUMM&SW). He stated, "As long as a man so much to the left as SKINNER was is running for office, it was our job to back him."

A characterization of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers appears in the appendix hereto.

FREDERICK LEE HEUSER, Sandy, who was an officer and member of the Communist Party in Utah from 1948 to May, 1955, has advised that in 1952 ALBERT C. SKINNER was a member of the Communist Party in Utah.

Oyma # A

OM 100-6180

CP USA

ORGANIZATION

July 3, 1961

Bureau File #100-3-69

The CP, USA, State of Iowa, consists only of the area within the State of Iowa, except that Davenport and Bettendorf, Iowa, are included in the Illinois District, CP, USA. The 1960 census lists the current population of Iowa as 2,757,537. The State of Iowa has an area of 56,280 square miles.

OM T-1 and T-2 have advised on numerous occasions during the past three months that they have no knowledge of any CP organization or CP activities in the State of Iowa.

On June 20, 1961, T-3, T-4 and T-5 advised they are not aware of any CP activity on the campus of the University of Iowa or in the vicinity of Iowa City, Iowa. They added they did not know of any CP member in the Iowa City, Iowa, area.

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OM 100-4130



CPUSA

ORGANIZATION

Bureau File 100-3-69

The CP, USA, State of Nebraska, consists only of that area within the geographical limits of Nebraska. Newspaper articles reporting the results of the 1960 census indicates present population figures for Nebraska as 1,404,525. Nebraska is shown as having an area of 77,237 square miles according to a recent edition of a road atlas.

Confidential Informants OM T-1 and T-2 have advised on numerous occasions during the past three months there is no district organization of the CP in the State of Nebraska and no CP official or organizer represents the State of Nebraska at the present time. These sources have advised there have been no CP meetings, functions, fund or literature drives in Nebraska during the past three months.

Confidential Informant OM T-3, a self-admitted CP member from the middle 1940's to 1955, advised June 26, 1961, there have been no dues collections of any kind concerning CP membership since 1955 or 1956 and that no CP organization of any kind has existed in the Omaha, Nebraska area since 1955.

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FBI

Date: 7/12/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-26044)  
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT  
ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
CINAL

Enclosed herewith are six copies of a letterhead memorandum captioned "COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL PLANS." This information was furnished by \_\_\_\_\_

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This memorandum is classified ~~confidential~~ because data reported therein could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise effectiveness thereof.

- P
- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 6) (AIRMAIL) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - New York (Encl. 1) (INFO) (REGULAR) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (INFO) (REGULAR) (REGISTERED)
- 2 - Los Angeles (100-26044) (100-43372 - CINAL)

WNP:DRU  
(7)

101 EXT

REC-44

100-3-69-8641

AGENCY Oni, Ovi, G-2  
REQ. REC'D \_\_\_\_\_  
DATE FORW. 7-14-61  
HOW FORW. af/s  
BY WGS/ham

JUL 14 1961

b6  
b7C

cc - Brennan

C C Wick

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M \_\_\_\_\_ P \_\_\_\_\_



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

1340 West Sixth Street  
Los Angeles 17, California  
July 12, 1961

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 01-11-2012

COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL PLANS

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advises that following her return to the United States from a trip to the Soviet Union in late June DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, Southern California District Communist Party, met with the Communist Party National Executive Committee in New York City. HEALEY has reported to the Southern California District Executive Board as a result of this meeting that the following program is to be followed by the Party:

The Party will not dissolve and has no intention of dissolving but will stand up and fight with every means possible to reverse the recent Supreme Court decisions. GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA, will make a trip throughout the United States to speak at public rallies on the Supreme Court decisions.

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b7c

*Opposition  
"Citizens Committee  
Building toward a mass rally in New York this fall.*

The campaign against the decisions will be developed around a ~~Committee for the Preservation of Constitutional Liberties~~ in each locality where such committees are formed. Building toward a mass rally in New York this fall.

The minority opinion of Justice HUGO BLACK is to be reprinted in a pamphlet which is to be distributed in large quantities.

DOROTHY HEALEY reported that GUS HALL had indicated to her that between now and October a complete reorganization of the Communist Party will be undertaken which will tighten the structure and security of the Party from top to bottom. HALL stated that a small Executive Board that could readily be called together should be formed in each district in order to make prompt decisions on organizational matters.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-3-69-8  
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

~~SECRET~~

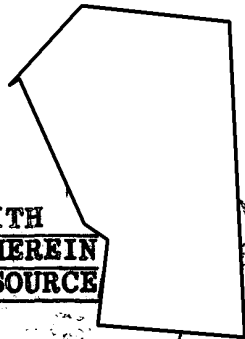
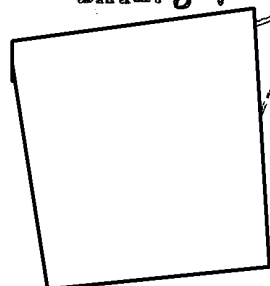
*JF*

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 8-1-61

b6  
b7C

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)



SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement dated July 25, 1961, containing information orally furnished on July 25, 1961, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAS [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

and [redacted]. This information was reduced to writing on July 28, 1961, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A [redacted]

2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)

7-Buffalo (RM)

(1-100-11933

(MILT ROSEN)

(1-100-4379-69

(CP, USA - Organization)

(1-100-4379-88

(CP, USA - Factionalism)

(1-100-10454

(MORT SCHERER)

(1-100-

(FRED LNU, short and stocky)

(1-100-

(DICK LNU, from Buffalo)

(1-100-



2-Detroit (RM)

(1-100-13740

(HELEN WINTER)

(1-100-13420

(CARL WINTER)

CNF:MDW

(see page ii for additional copies)

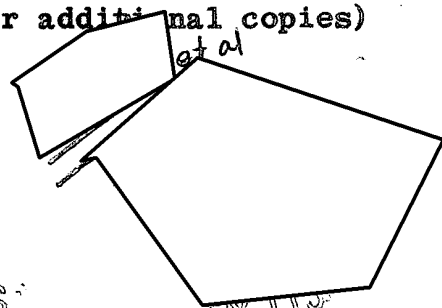
100-3-69-8642

REC-10

16 AUG 3 1961

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b7C

ENCLOSURE



36  
AUG 21 1961

EX-110  
~~SECRET~~

Classified by *JMP/SEC*  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

2/11/75

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2/ajh/ld  
ON 6-29-94



~~SECRET~~

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

47-New York (RM)

(1-100- (CP, USA - Brief)  
(1-100-128814 (CP, USA, New York District - Organization)(7-6)  
(1-100-128817 (CP, USA, New York District - Membership)  
(1-100-128821 (CP, USA, New York District - Factionalism)  
(1-100-26603 (CP, USA, New York District)(12-14)  
(1-100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)  
(1-100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)  
(1-100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)  
(1-100- [REDACTED] PH)  
(1-100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)  
(1-100- (RADZI) (PH)  
(1-100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)  
(1-100-54555 [REDACTED]  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100-67234 (RUTH SHULMAN)  
(1-100- (GEORGE MORRIS)  
(1-100-34665 [REDACTED]  
(1-100-15946 [REDACTED]  
(1-100- (MIMI FRIEDLANDER)  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)  
(1-100- (JESUS COLON)  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100- (LANNY from Sussex or Essex County)  
(1-100- [REDACTED]  
(1-100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)  
(1-100- (DONNA, a social worker from Manhattan)  
(1-100- (JOE BRANDT)  
(1-100-9369 [REDACTED]  
(1-100- (BEN LNU, from Westchester County)  
(1-100- (MILDRED MC ADORY EDELMAN)  
(1-100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)  
(1-100- (MARCEL SCHERER)  
(1-100-21431 [REDACTED]  
(1-100-56 [REDACTED]  
(1-100-56579 (PHIL BART)  
(1-100-12959 [REDACTED]  
(1-100-68063 [REDACTED]

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b7c

b6  
b7c

(see page iii for additional copies)

- ii -

~~SECRET~~

CG 100-33741

~~SECRET~~

Copies:

47-New York (RM) (Con't.)

(1-100-

(1-100-

(1-100-25623

[REDACTED]  
(ERIC BERT)

(1-100-

(1-100-13483

[REDACTED]  
(BETTY GANNETT)

(1-100-23825

(BEN DAVIS, JR.)

3-Chicago

(1-A

[REDACTED]  
(1-100-3470

(MORRIS CHILDS)

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CNF:MDW

(61)

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July 25, 1961

On July 15, 1961, a meeting of the New York District Communist Party (CP) State Committee and invited guests was held at Adelphi Hall, New York.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK chaired the meeting and the following were observed as being in attendance:

LOUIS WEINSTOCK  
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON  
MILTON ROSEN of Buffalo  
WILL WEINSTONE  
ALEX KOLKIN (ph)  
IRVING POTASH  
RADZI (ph), a Russian  
ARNOLD JOHNSON  
EVELYN WIENER  
MORT SCHERER of Buffalo  
ESTHER CANTOR (UNGER)  
JUNE GORDON  
RUTH SHULMAN  
GEORGE MORRIS  
LENA SCHERER  
JIM TORMEY  
FRED, LNU, of Buffalo, short and stocky  
DAVE SALES  
MIMI FRIEDLANDER  
PAUL SCHWARTZ  
PAUL ROBESON, JR.  
JESUS COLON  
ARTHUR KNIGHT (ph), Negro, from Manhattan  
\_\_\_\_\_ SHEVRA (ph); female, wife of one AARON, a  
printer. She is believed to be  
Section Organizer in Yorkville  
LANNY (believed to be from Sussex or Essex County)  
MIKE CRENOVICH  
JIM JACKSON  
DONNA, a social worker from Manhattan  
JOE BRANDT  
TED BASSETT  
BEN, LNU, from Westchester County, white, an old-timer

- 1 -

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 dly/bsj  
ON 6-4-96 #272,640

100-3-69-8642  
ENCLOSURE

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DICK, LNU, from Buffalo  
MILDRED MC ADORY EDELMAN  
HATTIE LUMPKIN, Buffalo  
BETTY GANNETT  
BEN DAVIS, JR.

All of the above individuals participated in the discussion, and also attending this meeting were the following:

MORRIS CHILDS, Chicago  
HELEN WINTER, Detroit  
CARL WINTER, Detroit  
JACK STACHEL  
MARCEL SCHERER  
MARTIN YOUNG  
MIKE DAVIDOW  
PHIL BART  
CONNIE BART  
CLARA BODIN  
PAULINE ROGERS  
DAVE CARPENTER  
ERIC BERT  
MARVIN MARKMAN

The Chairman, LOUIS WEINSTOCK, opened the meeting by introducing WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, Acting Chairman of the New York District. PATTERSON's speech noted that the meeting was an extraordinary one called because a small group or minority in the District had called for the liquidation of the Party following the Supreme Court decisions and had continued to violate the Marxist-Leninist concept of democratic centralism after the CP, USA, National Board had refused to liquidate the Party and had set a line of a "fight back" campaign.

PATTERSON then referred to the report of GUS HALL to the New York District Board wherein he detailed charges against ABE UNGER, the reasons for his suspension by the National Review Commission, as well as the order to the New York County Executive Council to dissolve.

PATTERSON said that HALL's report represents the thinking of the CP, USA, National Board. He added that the decisions of the higher bodies of the CP, USA, transcend those of the lower bodies. He said that there is no such thing as deviation and that democratic centralism must prevail in order for a monolithic Party to operate.

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Following PATTERSON's report, three motions were offered which are as follows:

- 1) To endorse the PATTERSON report;
- 2) To endorse the motion to bring the New York CP structure in line with all other sections of the Party. (In effect, this motion called for the endorsement of the National Review, Appeals and Auditing Commission to abolish the New York County Council;)
- 3) To endorse the motion that the State Board meet with the National Board to review the leadership in the New York District and to strengthen it so that the leadership can carry through the line in keeping with the CP national policies.

A lengthy discussion on the motions followed. It was participated in by approximately forty individuals.

MILT ROSEN

As leader for the opposition, ROSEN opened the rebuttal to the report. His remarks were in the same vein as were his remarks made before the New York State Board.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE

WEINSTONE attacked ROSEN's line. In doing so, he noted from LENIN on freedom of speech in the CP wherein LENIN, in effect, states there is no such thing as freedom of speech in the CP--that the Party must come first. //

ALEX KOLKIN (ph)

KOLKIN supported the National Board line.

IRVING POTASH

IRVING POTASH commented that it was a sad thing in the Party when a comrade had to be asked to make a choice for or against the CP.

RADZI (ph)

RADZI spoke against the decisions of the National Board.

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ARNOLD JOHNSON

JOHNSON appealed to everyone to get together in the interest of Party unity. He, himself, attempted to follow a middle course while at the same time indicating that he supported the National Board line.

EVELYN WIENER

WIENER's speech was approximately the same as was made before the New York State Board. She spoke along an anti-Party line and in full support of ABE UNGER.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK

WEINSTOCK supported the National line and called upon the opposition to quit fighting.

MORT SCHERER of Buffalo

SCHERER objected to putting labels on people who do not vote with the leadership of the Party. He supported the opposition led by the ROSEN faction.

ESTHER CANTOR

CANTOR's speech was approximately the same as she made before the New York State Board. She spoke out against the CP, USA, National leadership.

JUNE GORDON

GORDON stated that she, in the past, had been allied in support of the opposition against the National leadership. She, however, stated that she now knows this opposition was wrong and is reversing herself and supporting the National leadership.

RUTH SHULMAN

RUTH SHULMAN spoke in support of the New York leadership opposing the National leadership.

GEORGE MORRIS

MORRIS supported the National leadership.

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LENA SCHERER

SCHERER spoke on behalf of the National Review, Appeals and Auditing Commission. She gave the New York State Committee a report chronologically on the handling of the ABE UNGER case. She, of course, supports the National leadership.

JIM TORMEY

TORMEY violently attacked the New York County leadership and the opposition of ROSEN and lent his support to the National position.

FRED from Buffalo

FRED is short and stocky and made an emotional attack on the leadership and specifically on GUS HALL. He is allied with the ROSEN faction.

DAVE SALES

SALES supported the National leadership.

MIMI FRIEDLANDER

FRIEDLANDER supported the National leadership.

PAUL SCHWARTZ

SCHWARTZ attacked the National leadership and indicated his support for the ROSEN faction.

PAUL ROBESON, JR.

ROBESON attacked the National leadership of the Party, saying that he had no confidence in this leadership. He offered to resign from the New York State Committee and told the Committee he had made the same offer to resign from the National Committee.

JESUS COLON

COLON supported the National position.

ARTHUR KNIGHT (ph)

KNIGHT is believed to be from the Manhattan County Executive group. He talked about the continuing internal struggle in the Manhattan Council, but it was difficult to understand KNIGHT and at this time it is not possible to recall the position he took for that reason.

- 5 -  
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SHEVRA, a female and believed to be the wife of one AARON of the Party printers organization

This individual is believed to be a Section Organizer in Yorkville and took an anti-leadership position. She was very emotional in speaking against the National leadership.

LANNY (ph) (LNU)

This individual is believed to be from either Sussex or Essex County and previously attended the New York Board meeting. He is believed to have been formerly in the New York County Party leadership. He supported the National position and said that he is convinced that the New York County action was wrong in its failure to support democratic centralism within the Party.

MIKE CRENOVICH

CRENOVICH supported the New York County and the ROSEN position against leadership.

JAMES JACKSON

JACKSON, in his time, ripped into the New York County leadership and, of course, supported the National leadership.

DONNA (LNU)

This person is believed to be a social worker from Manhattan. She spoke in support of the New York County leadership but admitted that she was wavering and she claimed that she lacked full information on the dispute.

JOE BRANDT

BRANDT said that this meeting was the first time he had ever spoken at a New York State Committee meeting. He said that he gave full support to the National leadership. BRANDT then gave certain information concerning the current status of the new Party defense committee being very careful at this meeting, however, to indicate that it was not strictly a Party defense committee but that it was instead a very broad organization. He indicated that he wanted to present the new defense organization as a non-Party organization.

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TED BASSETT

BASSETT supported the National leadership position.

BEN (LNU)

This individual is white, an old-timer, and believed to be from Westchester County. He said he was speaking on behalf of a State Committee member who was absent. He spoke as in favor of the National position.

DICK from Buffalo

DICK gave an anti-leadership speech and indicated his support of the ROSEN position.

MILDRED MC ADORY

MC ADORY gave an extremely inflammatory speech, charging that there was white chauvinism in the CP. She followed the line of BEN DAVIS but during the voting later abstained from voting.

HATTIE LUMPKIN of Buffalo

LUMPKIN talked about the dangers of a Party split. She spoke in support of the National position; however, in her talk she appeared to miss the point of the discussion. LUMPKIN left the meeting before voting took place.

BETTY GANNETT

GANNETT supported the National position.

BEN DAVIS

At this point, DAVIS asked for the floor. He informed the State Committee of his position of non-voting at the New York State Board meeting. He said he was critical of PAUL ROBESON, JR., for offering to resign from the State Committee. DAVIS' speech was rambling and in the course of it he indicated a back-handed support to the opposition while at the same time indicated he was giving support to the National leadership. DAVIS later abstained from voting on the three motions.

It might be added that during his speech DAVIS indicated his reason for not voting was that he does not want to, at this time, evaluate the leadership of the New York County organization.

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LOUIS WEINSTOCK

WEINSTOCK, as Chairman of the meeting, then took the floor and reminded the New York State Committee that it is still \$10,000 short in its Press Fund Drive. He asked the Committee to extend the fund drive and to support it vigorously.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

PATTERSON then summarized the meeting and indicated that he thought the meeting had some positive results. He said that he regrets that such a meeting had to be held at all; however, he believes the Party was strengthened as a result of the meeting although at this time he did not know how the vote would go.

PATTERSON referred to the few people by name who at one time had opposed the National decisions but who had at this meeting stepped forward and indicated a break from the opposition leadership. He urged those who had not followed this example to do so by studying the results of the discussion and at the same time reviewing their past positions and the reasons for them.

Concluding, he said that political degeneracy has a real meaning and an opposition, as it develops, takes a logical course. He said some people who started out and said they were opposed to the leadership position later said they were following a correct line. He reminded those people that these positions cannot be reconciled--you can not fight the leadership and at the same time have a correct Party line.

PATTERSON next directly addressed PAUL ROBESON and said "independence is not a virtue in the CP--however, collectivity and unity are," and he called for ROBESON to re-examine his position.

Next, PATTERSON called for a voting on the three motions, above described. The vote was as follows:

Vote on all of the motions before  
the State Committee

19 for  
9 against  
5 abstaining

On the consultative vote on the same three motions:

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~~SECRET~~

28 for  
5 against  
7 abstaining

BEN DAVIS' vote is in the five abstaining on the State  
Committee vote.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 8/3/61

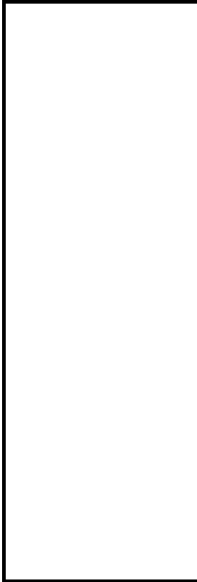
*Jm*

FROM : SAC, NY (100-128814)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
(OO: New York)

b6  
b7C



Reurlet, 8/2/61, concerning current status of MIMI FRIEDLANDER in CP defense work.

On 7/30/61, NY 2318-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, reported that ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN stated that JIM TORMEY has taken over CP defense work and that MIMI FRIEDLANDER is working at the defense office. ~~(u)~~ (u)

- 2 - Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)
- 1 - NY (100-1696) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (415)
- 1 - NY (100-93665) (MIMI FRIEDLANDER) (421)
- 1 - NY (100-15946) ( ) (422)
- 1 - NY (100-128814) (414)

(u)

DEH:KMD  
(6)

*W* b6  
b7C

REC-14

~~CLASSIFIED BY 5668 SLA/AT  
DECLASSIFY ON: OADR~~

100-3-69-8643

~~12/17/84  
Comp. 209,405~~

EX. 107

AUG 4 1961

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~INT. SEC.~~

58 AUG 11 1961

*12*

*25*

San Diego  
9-17-61



b6  
b7c

SD 100-741  
DNG:mmk

C. P. U. S. A.

ORGANIZATION  
(Bufile 100-3-69)

San Diego County

On July 13, 1961 SD T-1 advised that the San Diego County CP (SDCCP) consists of one club which meets every other week at the homes of its various members. SD T-1 further advised that Executive Board meetings are held as required, generally either on alternate weeks or immediately preceding the club meeting. The officers of this club are as follows:

Chairman                                 LEE MAJOR (also  
  delegate to Southern  
  California District  
  Committee)

Secretary Treasurer  
and Membership Director     MORTIMER ALTMAN

"People's World"  
Director                                 CHARLES JAQUES

Delegate to the  
Southern California  
District Negro  
Commission                             BEVERLY MAJOR

Literature Director                 JAMES FOREST

100-3-69-  
NOT RECORDED

The "People's World" (PW) is the west coast Communist newspaper. 78 AUG 3 1961

On May 9, 1961 SD T-3 and SD T-4 advised that the second CP club, which had been organized and headed by JAMES FOREST, had ceased to meet. Informants explained that there was a difference of opinion between LEON and LILLIAN HASKELL on one hand and the other members on the other hand, as to the advisability of attending open meetings such as PW Fund Raising affairs. The HASKELLS were opposed to any of the club members attending such meetings and when they could not have their way, the club ceased to meet. FOREST said he would try to organize another club but as of June 29, 1961, according to SD T-3 and SD T-4 no progress in this direction has been made.

105  
64 AUG 9 1961

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-24-411

SD 100-741  
DNG:mmk

Imperial County

On June 5, 1961 SD T-7 advised that during the 1960 CP registration, four members were registered in Imperial County. The informant could not identify these members by name nor did he know any details concerning the organization of the CP in Imperial County.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (66-2542-3-29)  
(100-3-69)

DATE: 7/26/61

FROM : SAC, Miami (66-1896)  
(100-800)

SUBJECT: SECURITY INFORMANT COVERAGE  
MIAMI OFFICE

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Miami letter to Bureau dated 6/15/61.

The Miami Office continues to make every effort to secure live informant coverage in the Communist Party (CP) in Florida. Special Agents assigned to Communist investigations are reminded at each squad conference of the importance of this matter and are fully aware of the Bureau's views on the importance of this program.

[redacted] and who con- b7D  
ferred with JAMES JACKSON, Editor of "The Worker", on April 26, 1961, has not yet been contacted regarding renewed CP activity. It is felt, however, that [redacted] will be the most logical Negro to be contacted when the CP renews its activity among Negroes in Florida, as sometime they must.

[redacted] continues activities in Jewish groups in the Miami area. This informant furnishes reliable information on activities at the Jewish Cultural Center, Miami Beach, Florida. She is careful to cultivate persons who are CP members so that in the event the CP in Florida begins recruiting new members, the informant will be a logical prospect for CP membership. b7D

- 2 - Bureau (100)
  - (2 - 66-2542-3-29)
  - (2 - 100-3-69)
- 4 - Miami (2 - 66-1896)
  - (2 - 100-800)

100-3-69  
NOT RECORDED  
78 AUG 3 1961

GES:msh

(3)

58 AUG 8 1961

MM 66-189C  
MM 100-800

The interview program continues with a view toward developing an individual with informant potential. None has developed to date, however, interviews will continue to be requested and conducted.

Miami is completely aware of the great need for live informant coverage in the CP in Florida. Every effort is being made to develop such coverage.



Sf. [Redacted]  
NY - 7/20/61

NY 100-131666

DETAILS:

C. P. U. S. A  
ORGANIZATION  
Bureau File 100-3-69  
New York File 100-80641

A. Structure of the Southern Region, Communist Party (CP), USA

The Southern Region of the CP, USA encompasses ten Southern States, namely Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. In addition the state of Maryland is considered a border state and not officially a part of the Southern Region, until the present re-organization of the Southern Region is completed.

B. Principal Leaders in the Southern States

JAMES JACKSON

"The Worker" December 20, 1959, reported that JAMES JACKSON at a meeting of the National Committee (NC), CP, USA, on December 14, 1959, was elected National Secretary for the South.

"The Worker" January 31, 1960, announced that JACKSON had been appointed by the publishers as editor of "The Worker."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist weekly publication.

100-3-69  
NOT RECORDED  
162 AUG 8 1961

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-105-40

FAC  
57 AUG 8 1961

NY 100-131666

GEORGE MEYERS

At a meeting of the National Negro Commission (NNC) CP,USA, held in Baltimore, Maryland on February 25, 1961, GEORGE MEYERS announced that, in 1960, he had been made responsible for CP organizing work in the South and that JAKE GREEN had been assigned to help him.

(NY T-1, 2/27/61)

At the 17th National Convention, CP,USA, held in New York, on December 10-13, 1959, GEORGE MEYERS was elected a member-at-large to the National Committee (NC) CP,USA.

(NY T-2, 12/14/59)

JAKE GREEN is a member of the NC, CP,USA.

(NY T-1, 2/27/61)

Set forth alphabetically by state are the principal leaders of the various states which comprise the Southern Region.

Alabama

MARY WILBUR KNOX is the principal CP leader for the state of Alabama.

(NY T-3, 6/2/61)

Florida

There are no known leaders of the CP,USA, in the State of Florida.

NY 100-131666

Georgia

There are no known leaders of the CP,USA, in the State of Georgia.

Louisiana

The principal leaders of the CP in the State of Louisiana are:

SERGEANT CAULFIELD,  
Leader of the CP Farm Group

WALTER ALBERT EVANS,  
Leader of the CP Longshoremen's Group  
(NY T-4, 7/61)

Mississippi

There are no known leaders of the CP,USA in the State of Mississippi.

North Carolina

There are no known leaders of the CP,USA, in the State of North Carolina.

South Carolina

There are no known leaders of the CP,USA, in the State of South Carolina.

Tennessee

There are no known leaders of the CP,USA, in the State of Tennessee.

Texas

AUGUSTIN ESTRADA is the Chairman of the Texas State CP Committee.

(NY T-5, 6/30/61)

NY 100-131666

JOHN STANFORD is the Executive Secretary of the Texas State CP Committee.

(NY T-6, 6/30/61)

Virginia

The principal CP leaders in the State of Virginia are:

LOUIS KALB  
Chairman and District Organizer

JUANITA NESHER  
Resident Director

CLARENCE JAMES  
Resident Director and  
Acting Treasurer

(NY T-7, 3/61)

C. Miscellaneous

On March 28, 1961, JAKE GREEN, at a meeting in Baltimore, Maryland, reported on a trip he had made to Virginia the previous weekend. GREEN stated that CLARENCE JAMES, at a meeting of the Richmond CP, stated that the National CP leadership was ready to write off the South. GREEN said, if this were true, he saw no purpose in making trips to the South.

GEORGE MEYERS, who was present, said he did not recall such a statement and that the National leadership felt that big things could be done in the South, and would not dare to write it off because GUS HALL would not accept it.

GREEN commented that, apparently, there was little activity among CP members in Virginia and that they were holding no discussions of value. He said it appeared that some of the CP members in Virginia were close to the revisionists.

NY 100-131666

MEYERS remarked that LOU and MARY KALB, Virginia CP members, had gone to the South to help organize that area and were faithful to the CP. He said that LOU KALB had been a Party Organizer in the trade union movement in the South for many years. GREEN stated that he felt LOU KALB had made a big step forward in helping him contact former Negro Party members in Virginia and that the groundwork for future contacts had been made by KALB. It appeared to GREEN that CP members in Virginia had not seen their Negro comrades in many years.

MEYERS felt that GREEN's trip had been worthwhile and that he now had something to report to the National leadership. MEYERS approved of GREEN's approach to former Negro members, which was to speak of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC).

MEYERS inquired as to how the KALBS felt about who should be responsible for reorganizing the South. According to GREEN, the indications were that either he or MEYERS should have that responsibility, but that a Negro was necessary for some contacts. In response to a question from MEYERS, GREEN said that the KALBS would not be opposed to MEYERS as the Organizer.

MEYERS stated he had discussed organization in the South with New York on many occasions and had suggested that JAMES JACKSON be relieved of responsibility for work in the South because of his other responsibilities and because JACKSON could not move about freely, due to a court order. MEYERS pointed out that he could travel freely, but that the National leadership would not make him solely responsible for the South.

GREEN stated that he would not refuse, if asked, to be the Organizer, and said that whoever organized the South would have to spend a great deal of time making contacts and visits of a week or ten days.

NY 100-131666

In response to a question by MEYERS, GREEN stated that he would work with him if MEYERS was to be in charge of the South.

At this meeting, a discussion took place concerning a possible meeting of Party members from Virginia with GUS HALL. MEYERS stated he would attempt to set up such a meeting.

(NY T-1, 3/29/61)

MARY KALB is a member of the CP of Virginia.

(NY T-7, 1/30/61)

On April 22, 1961, a meeting of a Virginia CP Delegation took place with GUS HALL in New York City. Present at the meeting with GUS HALL were SYLVIA HALL, LOUIS and MARY KALB, ARCHIE and JUANITA NESTER, and CLARENCE JAMES. At the outset of the meeting, GUS HALL gave a report on the status of the CP in which he stated that, during the period of the attacks against the Party and revisionism, they had found themselves completely disorganized and, at one time, almost broken up as a Party. The result was that they not only had to fight for survival as an organization, but there was fighting among themselves over policy to maintain themselves as a Marxist - Leninist organization. He reported they had overcome part of this situation and faithful members had held together with a smaller organization being built which is now on the upgrade. He pointed out that this group is not yet a legal party and that they still have to function as an illegal organization. He said that in this fight for survival they lost sight of what they had in the South and that he did not know until recently that there was any kind of Party organization still functioning in the South.

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MARY KALB commented that the reason for requesting this meeting was due to the fact that they have felt for a long time that the Party in the South has been neglected. She said that, when CLARENCE JAMES attended a meeting of the NNC, CP, USA, and had reported that a delegate at this meeting had pointed out there were differences of opinion within the NC, as to whether the Party could be built in the South at this time, they thought it was time to try to do something about it. She stated they had asked for this meeting in order to try to get some action. She added that, over the years, many national officials of the Party have agreed with them on the importance of the South, but they had never done anything about it with the result that they in the South felt divorced from the Party.

GUS HALL agreed that the South has lacked attention and on the importance of the South, and inquired what the Southern people wanted done.

CLARENCE JAMES presented the proposals and points of discussion which the Virginia Delegation had prepared and these proposals were as follows:

1. A need for a full-time Organizer based in the South.
2. Meetings of the Southern Regional Committee (SRC) be resumed.
3. An immediate assessment be put on the entire CP of 10 per cent of Party dues to cover the finance of rebuilding the Party in the South.
4. Assistance be provided for the Party in the South on literature distribution.
5. A weekly column on the South be printed in "The Worker".

JAMES, in his report, also mentioned the following:

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They had found in the South one of the most important areas for struggle. The problems peculiar to the South, which affect the entire nation, must be solved if they are to have Socialism in this country. New objective conditions are arising in the South whereby the Negro people have stirred the nation with their struggle for liberation. There is a loosely connected movement in the South taking on the appearance of a broad united front action, which is evidenced by the positions and actions being taken by church organizations and liberal forces. The delegation based its conclusions that there are grounds for Marxist ideas and influence on these developments. In order to develop the necessary unity between the Negro and white and Negro and labor, they must reactivate the Party in the South because it is the only force which can bring about this unity.

ARCHIE NESTER commented that he would develop the need for work in the South by stating that the Bourgeois Revolution was never completed in the South which must be done if they are to bring Socialism to America. He stated the South offers a real challenge and the CP must develop as the vanguard leader or the South will turn to fascism.

MARY KALB felt that the Organizer for the South must be based in the South, but still have ties in the North with the NC. This Organizer must live in the South and understand what is happening in the Southern picture from day to day. She felt that this person should be a member of the NC, the NNC, and have authority to carry out responsibility in the South. She also felt they should have a Southern Commission in the NC similar to the NNC or the Farm Commission.

GUS HALL commented that he agreed with the proposals that had been made and said that money is no object and can be raised. He said that the real problem was getting qualified personnel.

A discussion took place as to who would be a qualified Organizer. GUS HALL stated that GEORGE MEYERS would be satisfactory, but that his wife would not allow him to leave Baltimore.



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Following the luncheon break, the meeting resumed with further discussion as to who might be available to work as an Organizer in the South. GUS HALL stated that he felt they could work out something.

HALL inquired as to what the Virginia CP Delegation had in mind for meetings of the SRC, and MARY KALB pointed out that she felt, as did others, that Baltimore would be an ideal place. GUS HALL pointed out that it would be difficult for some of the members of the NC to go to Baltimore and MARY KALB stated that they could come to New York because these meetings would not be held too often. GUS HALL commented that, if necessary, they could establish meetings in Chicago for people from Texas and other far-South states.

GUS HALL also stated that he felt they could accomplish what the Virginia Delegation desired.

(NY T-7, 4/28/61)

GUS HALL

"The Worker", December 20, 1959, reported that GUS HALL, at a meeting of the CP, USA, NC, on December 14, 1959, was elected General Secretary of CP, USA.

ARCHIE NESTER

ARCHIE NESTER is a member of the CP of Virginia.

(NY T-7, 2/13/61)

SYLVIA HALL

SYLVIA HALL commented recently that she no longer is involved in the Party's Southern Region.

(NY T-8, 10/6/60)

NY 100-131666

SYLVIA HALL is the Educational  
Director of the West Side  
Section, New York County CP.

(NY T-9, 6/23/61)

At a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, and invited guests in CP Headquarters, New York City, on May 10, 1961, there was some discussion on the Party's work in the South. GUS HALL noted that the Party was beginning to re-establish work in the South. He said the South is becoming a more decisive area in national politics and felt the KENNEDY Administration will move in this field, and that the Party should take steps to force it to move faster.

JAMES JACKSON also spoke, and his comments included the following:

The main source of Party losses in the South was migration as a result of continued forays by national, state, and city vigilante committees, like the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which eliminated important cadre from South. There are forces operating in the South outside the orbit of the Party, which are doing important work. He noted first and foremost, the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), stating that they should think of it from the standpoint "of new potential for that organization and a place of assembly".

They must face the realization that the Party cannot function openly in the South, but should give open expression to its presence. The day to day functioning of the people should be through a non-Party organization. Rather than attempt to service all the Southern states from CP Headquarters, they should select three or four states where, if progress is made, all would be affected.

JACK STACHEL stated that an evaluation should be made of the South and an attempt made to get more direct information from that area. He said the national office should give more political and financial support to the South.

(NY T-10, 5/10/61)

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"The Southern Patriot," a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational and cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

During the time the SCHW was in existence, CP members were members of and worked actively in the SCHW. However, since the formation of the SCEF, rank and file CP members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which the source considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the CP on certain issues, particularly on the racial question, and through the years, certain CP members in the New Orleans area have been assigned to work in the organization to further CP principles.

In the past the source considered JAMES DOMBROWSKI, the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a Communist, if not an actual CP member, because he followed Communist principles.

NY 100-131666

Many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means Communists.

(NY T-4, 5/18/60)

JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL was elected to the NC, CP, USA at its 17th National Convention, December 10-13, 1959.

(NY T-2, 12/14/59)

JACK STACHEL is a member of the National Board, CP, USA.

(NY T-2, 4/20/61)

An enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee, (NEC), CP, USA, and invited guests took place at CP Headquarters on May 27, 28, 1961. On May 28, 1961, PHIL BART stated that the National Board had decided that a plan of work for the second half of 1961 should be prepared and discussed. He said that this plan would be based on a concentration approach to their work which has been neglected for a long time. He said the Party should direct itself to the Party club noting that there was a need to draw attention to a number of minimum uniform procedures essential to the functioning of a Party club. Such procedures must include regular club meetings. In connection with Party building, it has been proposed to set up specific objectives for the Party. He said the proposals for the second half of the year are to reinstitute and re-establish the partial organization in 50 cities throughout the United States where the Party has either existed up to now or where there had been an organization previously.

(NY T-11, 5/27 and 28/61)

NY 100-131666

PHIL BART

PHIL BART is the National  
Organizational Secretary,  
CP, USA.

(NY T-2, 1/12/60)

A meeting of the NNC, CP, USA, was held in New York City on April 8 and 9, 1961. At this meeting, proposals were submitted by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON that a national estimate be made of possibilities of CP work in the South and that the Negro Commission discuss possibilities in the South. These proposals were passed by the Commission.

(NY T-12, 4/12/61)

"The Worker", January 31, 1960, reported that WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, at a meeting of the New York State CP Committee, was elected a Vice-Chairman. It stated further that PATTERSON also is a member of the National Committee, CP, USA.

At the April 8, 1961, session of the NNC meeting, CLARENCE JAMES gave a report during which he mentioned the following:

The Negro people, particularly the students, are on the move in the South and are moving ahead of the Communists who should be the vanguard leaders. The Party should be giving the correct answers toward Negro-white unity, which must be given, if the Negro liberation fight is to be won. The Party must be rebuilt in the South and Negro-white unity brought about if there is to be Socialism. The South needs the help of the Negro Commission in rebuilding the Party in the South.

(NY T-7, 4/17/61)

NY 100-131666

On April 26, 1961, a Negro from Florida met with JAMES JACKSON at CP Headquarters, New York City. JACKSON inquired as to Cuban-Negro relationships in Miami and as to how the community was reacting to the influx of Cubans and Cubans taking jobs normally held by Negroes. He also asked if there was any political awakening in Miami and was told there was no activity as far as Negroes are concerned. He was also told that leadership is needed in Miami and also about the way Negroes have been shunned by the Party in Miami. JACKSON suggested to his visitor that he seek to rally the Negro people around a non-partisan political group which would take up issues pertinent to the Negro.

The necessity of political work among Negroes also was discussed.

NY T-13  
May 1, 1961

HOSEA HUDSON visited New Orleans, Louisiana, in May, 1961, and indicated that he had made this visit on instructions from the Party and also intended to visit Atlanta, Georgia, possibly Alabama, and said he would visit a sister in "Carolina". During this visit, HUDSON said that the CP is concerned about the Party in the South and indicated that GUS HALL has stated that the CP will again become active in the South under the leadership of a white man who resides in Baltimore, Maryland. HUDSON said that HALL pointed out that whoever goes to the South to re-organize the CP should not try to "rush things" since that has always been a problem in the South. The Party desires that former CP members be brought back into the Party.

HUDSON visited SARGEANT CAULFIELD on May 13, 1961, and he indicated that CP leaders wanted CAULFIELD to attend a conference on the South which would be held in New York in the future.

NY T-4  
May 20, 1961

NY 100-131666

At the 17th National Convention, CP, USA, held in New York City on December 10-13, 1959, HOSEA HUDSON, who attended the Convention, was defeated for re-election to the National Committee, CP, USA.

NY T-2  
December 14, 1959

At a CP Club meeting in San Antonio, Texas, on June 9, 1961, the main discussion concerned the recent Supreme Court decision requiring the CP to register all members. JOHN STANFORD stated that he is preparing a statement to be mailed to people in Texas explaining the CP's position on this decision. The statement will reflect that the CP was in Texas before the Soviet Union was formed and, therefore, the CP was not foreign inspired or foreign connected. This statement will be furnished to CP Headquarters in New York City to be mailed from there if the Headquarters is agreeable. STANFORD intends to compile a mailing list of 500 persons in Texas, and the National Office of the CP has requested a mailing list of 500 names for Texas.

NY T-6  
June 16, 1961

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL is the assistant to JAMES JACKSON, who is in charge of the South for the CP, USA.

NY T-14  
March 10, 1960

HUNTER PITTS O'DELL has quit the CP and is officially considered by the CP, USA, as being out, but he is still on good terms with the Party and will work with them.

NY T-2  
June 1, 1961

Rept. Sa, Conf 7/19/61 NK: Re: CP USA

NK 100-4284

NJ. Dist.  
NK. Div.

**DETAILS:**

In this report the COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, will be referred to by the abbreviation CP, USA. The New Jersey District of the CP, USA, will be referred to as the NJCP.

CP, USA  
ORGANIZATION

(Bureau File 100-3-69)

*pc*

NK T-1 advised on June 21, 1961, that the NJCP covers the geographical area of the State of New Jersey.

**A. HEADQUARTERS**

NK T-1 advised on June 21, 1961, that the headquarters of the NJCP are located at 5 East Alpine Street, Newark, New Jersey.

NK T-2 reported on May 4, 1961, that the NJCP leadership was considering the possibility of opening a book store to serve as a center for NJCP activities.

On April 28, 1961, NK T-4 reported that LEW MOROZE was making inquiries preparatory to purchasing a book store or card shop in the area of Irvington or Newark, New Jersey.

NK T-5 advised on March 9, 1961, that LEW MOROZE is the State Secretary of the NJCP and a member of the State Board, which governs the NJCP on a day-to-day basis.

**B. LEADING FUNCTIONARY OF THE NJCP**

**PATRICK TOOHEY**  
Member of the National Committee, CP, USA  
Chairman of the NJCP  
Residence: 11 East Union Street, Bound Brook, New Jersey  
Unemployed  
(Source: NK T-2)

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During the period of this report, TOOHEY has traveled extensively in New Jersey, meeting with clubs of the NJCP, to

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encourage registration of members and completion of fund drives.  
(Source: NK T-1)

During May, 1961, at the request of the National Office, CP, USA, TOOHEY conducted a "fact-finding" and "inspection" tour of the CP of Puerto Rico.

Since the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in June, 1961, adverse to the CP under the Smith Act of 1940 and the Internal Security Act of 1950, TOOHEY has been active in meeting with national leaders of the CP, USA, to formulate an attack on these decisions and to develop a firm CP policy with regard to the decisions.

TOOHEY has been in conflict with an element of the NJCP which is dissatisfied with CP preparations for and reactions to the Supreme Court decisions. The leadership of the CP, USA, has given TOOHEY assistance on this conflict. (Source: NK T-3)

#### C. CHANGES IN FUNCTIONARIES

NK T-2 advised on April 12, 1961, that at a meeting of the State Secretariat of the NJCP, also known as the State Board of the NJCP, on April 11, 1961, it was announced that JACK OSTERWEIL had returned to Newark. After some discussion of the fact that OSTERWEIL had gone away and left his Party work without notice, it was decided to ask OSTERWEIL to attend the next meeting of the State Board to explain his position.

On April 27, 1961, NK T-2 advised that JACK OSTERWEIL attended a meeting of the State Board on April 25, 1961, as a guest. OSTERWEIL acknowledged that he had been in error in going to the Soviet Union without giving proper notice to the Party but stated that he was now prepared to return to the Party and to Party work.

NK T-1 advised on October 26, 1960, that JACK OSTERWEIL, a member of the State Committee of the NJCP, had gone to the Soviet Union and would no longer be available.

#### D. ORGANIZATIONAL STATUS

On April 6, 1961, NK T-1 advised that LEW MOROZE had stated that there was little activity by the NJCP outside

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of Essex County. MOROZE specifically mentioned the following areas where there was no accomplishment:

Bergen County  
Passaic County  
Hudson County  
Camden County  
Mercer County  
Middlesex County

NK T-1 advised on April 19, 1961, that the CP organization in Plainfield, New Jersey, in Union County, had ceased to function.

NK T-2 advised on May 10, 1961, that LOTTIE GORDON informed a meeting of the State Board on May 9, 1961, that she had been unable to obtain any commitments for CP activity in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in Union County. LOTTIE GORDON refused to return to that area.

NK T-5 advised on March 9, 1961, that LOTTIE GORDON was recognized as a member of the State Secretariat of the NJCP.

NK T-2 stated on May 10, 1961, that it was reported to the State Board on May 9, 1961, that the situation in Mercer County was depressing from a CP view. CP members there have refused to meet with the state leadership.

NK T-5 reported on May 19, 1961, that a CP club was organized in Ocean County, New Jersey, on May 12, 1961. Seven members attended the first meeting.

NK T-5 further reported on June 6, 1961, that the CP club in Ocean County, New Jersey, elected the following officers on May 26, 1961:

WALTER BARRY, Chairman  
CHARLES JOHNSON, Secretary and Treasurer  
RALPH LEFSKY, Assistant to the Secretary and Treasurer

E. MAY DAY OBSERVANCE

NK T-7 advised on May 3, 1961, that an observance of May Day was held on April 29, 1961, at the Ukrainian Home,

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723 $\frac{1}{2}$  South 14th Street, Newark, New Jersey. PAT TOOHEY, the opening speaker, contrasted the life of the unemployed in the United States with the luxurious life led by the handful of wealthy American capitalists. TOOHEY stated that Socialism was advancing throughout the world.

A Chinese colored film was presented dealing with the 1959 celebration by China of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Peoples Republic of China.

F. SOCIAL GATHERING ADDRESSED BY GUS HALL

NK T-5 reported on June 1, 1961, it was announced at a meeting of the State Board on May 31, 1961, that a social gathering would be held at the Ukrainian Hall in Newark, New Jersey, on June 2, 1961, with GUS HALL as the featured speaker.

NK T-1 advised on June 27, 1961, that GUS HALL is the General Secretary of the CP, USA.

On June 7, 1961, NK T-5 reported that the social gathering was held for GUS HALL on June 2, 1961, at the Ukrainian Home. Approximately 65 persons attended.

GUS HALL delivered a speech in which he detailed progress in racial integration, told how the Socialist nations now prevent imperialists from controlling international relations, and pictured the CP, USA, as an effective, although small, organization. HALL claimed that the CP, USA, had emerged from the isolation which had formerly hampered it.

G. REACTION TO DECISIONS OF UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT OF JUNE 5, 1961, UNFAVORABLE TO CP, USA, UNDER SMITH ACT OF 1940 AND INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

On June 14, 1961, NK T-5 reported that an enlarged meeting of the State Board of the NJCP was held on June 13, 1961, attended by the four regular members and four other members of the NJCP. The meeting dealt with recent Supreme Court decisions adverse to the CP, USA, under the Smith Act of 1940 and the Internal Security Act of 1950.

The meeting was informed of emergency discussions which had been held at the National Office, CP, USA, to

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devise a policy to deal with the decisions. It appeared that the leaders of the CP, USA, felt these decisions would give rise to further prosecution of leaders of the CP, USA, and that the Government hopes that the rank and file membership of the Party will desert the Party. To combat such prosecutions the CP, USA, was reported as establishing a defense committee in New York City. A national fund drive will be launched for a \$50,000 defense fund, and a publicity campaign will be carried out to inform the public of the position of the CP, USA. The Party definitely will not register as required under the decisions. The Party "press" will be consolidated into one organization under administrative control of the defense committee in New York.

PAT TOOHEY stated that in New Jersey a defense committee will be formed. Decisions of this defense committee will be furnished to chairmen of individual CP clubs by personal contacts. TOOHEY expressed the opinion that it appeared the best course of action will be for CP members to drift into other organizations, with the CP, as such, possibly becoming defunct. The fight against the decisions could then be carried on by the individual members from these other organizations, which may be "front" groups or legitimate organizations.

TOOHEY further informed the enlarged meeting of the State Board that the CP organization in New Jersey must be "tightened," and the Party will drop those who fail to attend meetings or fail to perform required tasks.

TOOHEY detailed the reaction of some NJCP leaders to the decisions. He mentioned that DAVE VINES apparently holds the national leadership of the CP, USA, responsible for the adverse decisions, and VINES' future course of action is unknown. TOOHEY also claimed that LEW MOROZE and LOTTIE GORDON had panicked and had arbitrarily cancelled a State Board meeting scheduled for June 6, 1961, which subsequently had to be reinstated by TOOHEY at the last minute. A Marxist class being held in Paterson, New Jersey, was also cancelled.

TOOHEY stated that a definite policy and plan concerning future CP meetings will be formulated by the defense committee to be formed in New Jersey.

NK T-2 reported on October 5, 1960, that DAVE VINES resigned from all positions of leadership in the NJCP on September 29, 1960.

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NK T-3 reported on July 5, 1961, that on June 29, 1961, the national leadership of the CP, USA, assigned JAMES ALLEN, a functionary of the National Office of the CP, USA, to assist PAT TOOHEY in dealing with the "New Jersey leftists" headed by DAVE and LOTTIE GORDON.

NK T-2 advised on January 11, 1961, that DAVE GORDON was a member of an educational subcommittee of the NJCP.

An explanation of "left-wing" factionalism appears in the section of this report headed Factionalism on page 10.

NK T-2 further advised on July 5, 1961, that an enlarged meeting of the State Board of the NJCP was held on June 29, 1961, at L and G Hall, 110 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey. JAMES ALLEN of the National Office, CP, USA, attended. The meeting decided:

1. To set up a defense committee with headquarters in Newark, New Jersey, to serve as a general cover for CP defense efforts and other activities. A full-time worker will be assigned to lead this committee.

2. To launch a campaign for \$6,000, half of which will go to the National Office, CP, USA.

3. To issue quotas as to the number of persons each CP club must send to a national defense rally in New York City scheduled for August 5, 1961.

NK T-2 stated that at this meeting on June 29, 1961, PAT TOOHEY and LOTTIE GORDON bitterly attacked one another. TOOHEY demanded the elimination of factionalism from the NJCP and the ouster of those who because of fear had advocated an immediate underground and had criticized the national leadership. LOTTIE GORDON responded by attacking "bureaucrats," defending her right to criticize, and challenging TOOHEY to oust her from the NJCP leadership.

NK 100-4284

ADMINISTRATIVE

ORGANIZATION

(Bureau File 100-3-69)

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reported on 6/21/61 that the NJCP expected to give notice on 7/1/61 to the owner of 5 East Alpine Street, Newark, New Jersey, of its intention to vacate its space at 5 East Alpine Street by 7/31/61.

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AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

*O.C.P.U.S.A.*

ORGANIZATION  
(Bufile 100-3-69)



A. Territory

As previously reported, the Northern California District of the Communist Party, USA (CP), comprises the area of the northern part of the State from the California-Oregon border on the north to the northern boundary of Kern County on the south.

B. Facilities

The CP, Northern District of California, maintained a suite of offices consisting of two rooms, 410-411, in the Garfield Building, 942 Market Street, San Francisco. During the period of April through June, 1961, these offices were used to receive mail and no meetings of Party functionaries were held at this location. No regular working hours have been maintained at these offices, and MICKEY LIMA, Chairman, Northern California District, stopped by occasionally to pick up the mail. (SF T-5, 6/30/61)

C. Activities of CP Functionaries

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, recently elected National Chairman of the CP, USA, visited the San Francisco area during the month of April and May, 1961, and spoke at many CP group and county meetings.

FLYNN spoke at a public meeting at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, on April 29, 1961. At this meeting FLYNN spoke of her eight month trip to the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries and had high praise for the

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Socialist society. FLYNN also announced at this meeting that while visiting the San Francisco area she has attended 16 major CP meetings in areas such as San Jose, San Mateo, Petaluma, Marin and Sonoma Counties. FLYNN also stated that she had attended numerous breakfasts and luncheons and had appeared on television and radio programs.  
(SF T-9, 5/1/61)

ALBERT (MICKEY) LIMA

MICKEY LIMA attended a meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee on April 6, 1961, at which he gave a report on the unemployment situation. LIMA stated that there are many things for the unemployed people to do to improve conditions if they are willing. LIMA stated that the CP must show these people that there is no need to endure such hardships placed on them by this capitalistic government and its many industrial stooges.  
(SF T-8, 4/12/61)

MICKEY LIMA attended a meeting of the Northern California District Committee on April 22, 1961, and gave a report on a proposed educational program for the district.  
(SF T-1, 4/28/61)

MICKEY LIMA presided over a meeting of the Northern California District Committee on May 19, 1961, and gave a report on the Negro rights in the United States and the CP policy as it related to this topic.  
(SF T-1, 5/22/61)

MICKEY LIMA attended an extraordinary session of the National Executive Committee, CP, USA, at New York City from June 9 - 11, 1961, which considered the ruling of the United States Supreme Court with respect to the status of the CP, USA, under the Internal Security Act of 1950.  
(SF T-30, 6/9-11/61)



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AL RICHMOND

AL RICHMOND, Executive Editor of the "People's World" (PW), is a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, and the Northern California CP District Committee.

The PW is a West Coast Communist Newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

AL RICHMOND attended a meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee on April 24, 1961, and gave a report on Cuba and the CP strategy in this regard. (details of remarks reported in section D, infra). (SF T-13, 4/25/61)

AL RICHMOND was the principal speaker at a PW conference at Park Manor Hotel, Los Angeles, California, on May 20, 1961. This meeting was sponsored by the Southern California Committee for the PW and RICHMOND spoke on the crusading policies of a paper. (SF T-31, 5/24/61)

ROSCOE PROCTOR

ROSCOE PROCTOR is a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, and the Northern California CP District Committee. He is employed as a warehouseman and is currently serving as Chairman of the Northern California CP Negro Commission.

PROCTOR gave a report on his work on the Easter Peace Walk Demonstration at a meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee on March 20, 1961. He spoke on the outlying counties he visited for the purpose of encouraging participation in the Peace Walk. (SF T-8, 3/24/61)

PROCTOR attended a meeting of the Northern California District Committee on April 22, 1961, and gave a report on the Easter Peace Demonstration. PROCTOR stated the demonstrations were not as large as he had hoped for but they were the largest in the nation. He stated that all CP clubs participated in some way either actively or by influencing others to join the demonstration. At this meeting PROCTOR was identified as a member of a subcommittee preparing CP education classes. (SF T-1, 4/28/61)

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ROSCOE PROCTOR was in attendance at a meeting of the Northern California CP District Committee on May 19, 1961. (SF T-1, 5/22/61)

JUANITA WHEELER

JUANITA WHEELER attended a meeting of the Northern California District Committee on April 22, 1961, and was named at this meeting as a member of a subcommittee preparing a CP educational program. (SF T-1, 4/28/61)

JUANITA WHEELER attended a meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee on May 8, 1961, and gave a progress report on her work in scheduling CP Marxist classes. WHEELER reported that the classes would soon start and would concern the fundamentals of Marxism and the agreement of the 81 nation CP conference in Moscow during December, 1960. (SF T-8, 5/12/61)

JUANITA WHEELER was in attendance at a meeting of the Northern California District Committee on May 19, 1961. (SF T-1, 5/22/61)

JUANITA WHEELER called a meeting at her home, 415 Chenery Street, San Francisco, on May 31, 1961, for the purpose of organizing a Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) Chapter in San Francisco. WHEELER mentioned at this meeting that there was no prior existing chapter of CORE in the City of San Francisco and she believed that they could get a charter from the national office. (SF T-8, 6/1/61)

D. Special Meetings on Organizational Matters

A meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee was held at 2431 - 15th Avenue, San Francisco, on March 20, 1961. HERB NUGENT, Chairman, opened the meeting with a report on the PW fund drive. He then turned the meeting over to ROSCOE PROCTOR who gave a report on his work in behalf of the Easter Peace Walk Demonstration. (SF T-8, 3/24/61 - SF T-13, 4/4/61)

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A meeting of the District Committee of the CP of Northern California was held in the offices of the PW on Saturday, March 18, 1961, and the following people were present:

BARNEY DE VETO  
JOHN DRAKE  
JOE FIGUEIREDO  
IRVING FROMER  
NOEL HARRIS  
KETTY JOHNSON  
MICKEY LIMA  
BOB LINDSEY  
ELIZABETH NICHOLAS  
HERB NUGENT  
ROSCOE PROCTOR  
LILLIAN RANSOME  
JOE RAPPAPORT  
AL RICHMOND  
GEORGE SANDY  
WALTER STACK  
DOUG WACHTER  
SAUL WACHTER  
JUANITA WHEELER  
JIMMIE WOOD

MICKEY LIMA opened the meeting and stated that he was going to give a report on the meeting of the National Executive Committee. (SF T-1, 3/24/61 - SF T-10, 3/24/61)

On April 6, 1961, the San Francisco County CP Committee held a meeting. GEORGE SANDY, Business Manager of the PW, made a short report on the progress of the PW fund drive. ARCHIE BROWN gave a report on the nation's economy and employment in Northern California. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who was a guest at this meeting also spoke and stated how honored she was on being elected National Chairman of the CP. (SF T-8, 4/12/61 - SF T-13, 4/10/61)

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The Northern California CP District Committee on April 22, 1961, held a meeting at the offices of the PW, 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco. The first item on the agenda was a report by MICKEY LIMA on the progress of plans to conduct CP educational classes. ROSCOE PROCTOR gave a report on the peace demonstrations conducted during the Easter Week. He stated that the demonstrations were not as large as they had hoped for but that they were the largest in the nation. PROCTOR stated that the participation of young people and Negro people was outstanding and that all clubs of the CP participated in some way either actively or by influencing others to demonstrate. LIMA then gave a report on the Cuban situation and stated that the United States prestige had hit a new low and that the KENNEDY Administration had undone in three days all that had been accomplished during the prior three months. (SF T-1, 4/28/61)

A meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee was held in San Francisco on April 24, 1961. AL RICHMOND gave a report on the Cuban situation. RICHMOND referred to the Peace Demonstrations regarding Cuba which had taken place at the San Francisco Federal Building. RICHMOND praised these demonstrations and stated that it was correct policy for the CP to take part in them. RICHMOND stated that President KENNEDY and the capitalist press are now developing a policy of direct intervention in Cuba and are preparing the United States people to accept this policy. RICHMOND stated that they must understand this and do what they can to minimize it. He stated that while the United States Government would prefer to operate behind a front of Cuban counter revolutionaries, President KENNEDY has stated that the United States will go it alone if necessary. RICHMOND stated that they must prepare for a fight for world peace and try to get the United States policy reorientated. RICHMOND stated that they have two factors to consider:

1. The CP has a deep respect toward Cuba and was properly angry at the attack against CASTRO. The CP was

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correct in the demonstrations at the Federal Building and must consider how to get the workers to take the proper attitude toward CASTRO.

2. The CP's long range prospective must be towards averting further attacks on Cuba. The biggest problem is to counteract the United States Government propaganda on Communism in Cuba. The American people must realize that an attack on Cuba is made at a risk of World War III.  
(SF T-13, 4/25/61)

JUANITA WHEELER at a meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee on May 8, 1961, gave a report on the CP educational program. WHEELER explained that there has been a delay in starting the Marxist classes due to the incarceration of HY LUMER, CP National Functionary, who was to assist in planning the program. WHEELER stated that the forms previously distributed to County Committee members were inadequate due to the fact that many people who applied to attend classes did not write out their full names and used initials. WHEELER stated that this made it impossible to identify and approve these applications and requested that the forms be filled out again with the name in full. WHEELER stated that it had been proposed by the District Committee that the first few classes be centered around the 81<sup>st</sup> Nation CP conference and the fundamentals of Marxism.  
(SF T-8, 5/12/61)

At a meeting of the Northern California CP District Committee on May 19, 1961, MICKEY LIMA gave a report on Negro rights in the United States. After LIMA's report the following proposals were adopted:

1. That Party members will make an effort to work with CORE and the Negro American Labor Council whenever and wherever possible.

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2. Party members will try to spare the organization of protest meetings as suggested by ARCHIE BROWN.

3. The Party Board or Staff will prepare a statement of protest on the reapportioning bill since it is organized in such a way that it deprives the minorities of true representation.

4. That all counties and outlying areas propose names of persons to serve on the Negro Commission and the Board will finalize the appointments.

5. That there be discussion in all the counties and Clubs on the question of Negro rights.

6. That there be discussion in the Board and then in the District Committee on the problem of jobs for Negroes.

7. That the Negro Commission review the forces of those in the Party and those outside but sympathetic in relation to mass activity and how to get them working.  
(SF T-1, 5/22/61)

E. CP Defense Policy

MICKEY LIMA met with CP representatives of outlying counties on June 17, 1961, and briefed them with regard to CP policy on the recent United States Supreme Court decisions.

LIMA told them there were still things to be worked out when the panel of attorneys meets at New York the following Friday, June 23, 1961, and when they know where they stand they can work out mass activities on a local level. In the meantime, the Party is taking the position:

- A. Marxist-Leninist ideas are accepted in the world and they are within their civil rights to advocate them.

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- B. They must unite "left consciousness" to fight for "our" rights. This will be done through extensive mass communication, coupled with determined legal action.
- C. There must be no lessening of their mass work.
- D. They must continue their announced policies among the membership.
- E. They have a "Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties," 22-17th St., New York City, 3, N. Y., Room 1425, which is already set up and has published a pamphlet concerning Justice BLACK's dissent. A committee of local people in the Northern California area will try to organize mass activities not to fight for the rights of Communists, but to fight for the rights of all. Further, the Citizens Committee will solicit national sponsors for a Civil Rights Congress to be held the first week in August. A hall will be reserved for 1500 to 2000 people. LIMA told club representatives to recommend names for national sponsors of the national conference.
- F. He urged defense committees in each area to support ARCHIE BROWN and to tie this in; mobilizing additional people around BROWN.
- G. LIMA stated "We don't intend to go underground, but at the same time we don't intend to lay additional burdens on individual members." He said that (probably referring to the Department of Justice) they are in no position to move concerning membership registration now, that the Party expected an order to be handed down for the organization to register July 9th,

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after which they would have thirty days, and the next step would be directed at individuals, but that the attorneys did not see how individuals could be charged, since in membership cases individual acts must be proved.  
(SF T-28, 6/17/61)

MERLE BRODSKY, Organizational Secretary, East Bay CP Region, on June 21, 1961, commented concerning a recent conversation he had with VINCENT HALLINAN pertaining to the moves the CP must take in the immediate future.

BRODSKY declared that both he and HALLINAN are agreed that the CP should call a convention and take another form. The new organization, as envisioned, would continue to be pro-Soviet in nature. BRODSKY indicated that HALLINAN stated that he would be willing to write a manifesto and become the leader of such a group, if such is agreed upon by the national officers of the CP, which BRODSKY felt to be unlikely.

The formation of this new organization, as envisioned by HALLINAN and BRODSKY, could be the result of calling together a group of people by HALLINAN and present Party officers, with an agreement in advance that HALLINAN head the group. BRODSKY also revealed that HARRY BRIDGES had agreed to head a Marxist-labor organization when in the recent past the CP was talking about such an organization. BRODSKY indicated the CP is continuing to explore means of avoiding compliance with the law and will explore every possible avenue of action. BRODSKY indicated that he intended to place the HALLINAN proposal before the District Board.



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VINCENT HALLINAN is a San Francisco attorney who was Independent Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952. His estate has been used for annual fund-raising picnics for the PW and the "National Guardian" (NG), established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive weekly."

HALLINAN attended the U-2 trial in the Soviet Union in 1960 as a guest of a Russian Governmental agency, and supported the candidacy of FARRELL DOBBS, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President in 1960.

HALLINAN and his wife co-authored a booklet published by the American Russian Institute (ARI) of San Francisco in 1960, contrasting the cultures of the United States and the Soviet Union, the foreword of which book described him as the head of certain independent socialist political groups. He visited Cuba on a ten-day tour in December, 1960, and upon his return was reported by the PW as having held a press conference seeking to counter the flood of "hate Cuba propaganda." He has been identified as one of the leaders of the San Francisco Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a pro-CASTRO organization.

HARRY BRIDGES is President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. (SF T-4, 6/21/61)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
CONNECTICUT DISTRICT  
NEW HAVEN DIVISION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
INTERNAL SECURITY ACT OF 1950

ORGANIZATION  
(Bufile 100-3-69)

*Enc Report from  
New Haven  
by SA W.C. Hendricks  
dated 7/2/61*

*st  
dh*

A. AREA COVERED BY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
CONNECTICUT DISTRICT

The Communist Party, USA, Connecticut District, (CP, USA, Connecticut District), is more commonly known as the CP of Connecticut (CP of Conn.) or the Connecticut CP (Conn. CP), and will be referred to herein by its more commonly known designations.

The State of Connecticut comprises the entire area of CP, USA, Connecticut District. The 1950 census conducted by the United States Census Bureau of the United States Department of Commerce, reflects that the population of Connecticut, as of 1950, is 2,007,280.

B. ADDRESS

On June 21, 1961, NH T-1 advised that Post Office Box 108, Bridgeport, Connecticut, continues to be assigned to the CP of Conn., and that rental for this box is paid for by JACOB GOLDRING.

On June 26, 1961, NH T-2 stated that the CP of Conn. has not rented a Post Office Box in the New Haven area under the name of the CP of Conn. or the Conn. CP.

NH T-2 also stated that SIDNEY TAYLOR receives his mail at his residence, 120 Valley Street, New Haven, Connecticut, and does not have a Post Office Box issued to him in the New Haven, Connecticut area.

*100-3-69-*

C. OFFICERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CONNECTICUT

1. State Officers and Functionaries

NOT RECORDED

a. SIMON SILVERMAN (SIDNEY TAYLOR) 198 AUG 3 1961

SIMON SILVERMAN is more commonly known by the ~~alias of~~ SIDNEY TAYLOR and will be referred to herein by his more commonly known name.

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66 AUG 7 1961

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On June 26, 1961, NH T-3 stated that SIDNEY TAYLOR then resided at 120 Valley Street, New Haven, Connecticut, and that he was employed as a plumber's helper by the Eastern Plumbing and Heating Company, 3 Edgemere Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

On April 8, 1961, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed PHIL BART at New Haven, Connecticut, where he was seen conferring with SIDNEY TAYLOR.

As set forth hereinafter, NH T-4 advised on April 13, 1961, that SIDNEY TAYLOR attended a meeting of the Connecticut Civil Rights Bail Fund Distribution Committee (CCRFDC) held at New Haven, Connecticut, on April 9, 1961.

As will be reported hereinafter, SIDNEY TAYLOR attended a CP meeting at Wallingford, Connecticut, on May 3, 1961, at which time he stated that on May 7, 1961, consideration would be given concerning the possibility of assigning an individual from the New York, New York area to Connecticut as State or District Organizer.

b. JACOB GOLDRING

On June 21, 1961, NH T-6 advised that JACOB GOLDRING, also known as JAKE GOLDRING, then resided at 1183 Old Town Road, Bridgeport, Connecticut, and that he was self-employed as a carpenter. According to the informant, GOLDRING worked for various individuals and contractors in the Fairfield County, Connecticut area, depending upon the availability of work.

NH T-4 advised on April 13, 1961, that JAKE GOLDRING attended a meeting of the CCRFDC, held at New Haven, Connecticut, on April 9, 1961.

c. ROBERT CHAMPION EKINS

On June 21, 1961, NH T-7 stated that ROBERT CHAMPION EKINS resides in Apartment A-1, 54 Myrtle Street, Hartford, Connecticut.

Mrs. MARY MULLANEY, Secretary in the Personnel Office, Whitney Chain Company, Hartford, Connecticut, advised on June 21, 1961, that EKINS is employed by that company as a Senior Draftsman.

NH 100-9851

On June 21, 1961, a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed that in addition to his work at the Whitney Chain Company, EKINS also works in his spare time as a sculptor in his studio at 1029 Main Street, Hartford, Connecticut.

On March 8, 1961, NH T-8 stated that as of that date, EKINS was in possession of a letter written over the hand-written name of GUS HALL as General Secretary, and prepared on stationery bearing the letterhead of the CP, USA.

This letter, dated February 17, 1961, thanked EKINS for his message of condolence on the death of "Comrade EUGENE DENNIS", National Chairman of the CP, USA. The letter assured EKINS that the CP, its members and leaders, would continue to work in behalf of the people in the spirit of DENNIS' militant self-sacrificing life and work.

During the afternoon of April 8, 1961, shortly after PHIL BART was observed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation conferring with SIDNEY TAYLOR and SIDNEY RESNICK at 120 Valley Street, New Haven, Connecticut, the automobile of ROBERT EKINS was observed parked in the driveway of the residence at the above-mentioned address.

d. SIDNEY RESNICK

NH T-3 stated on June 26, 1961, that SIDNEY RESNICK then resided at 122 Valley Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

On June 28, 1961, NH T-9 advised that RESNICK was then employed as a Compositor by the Columbia Printing Company, 150 Welton Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

On November 22, 1960, NH T-8 stated that during late 1960, SIDNEY RESNICK informed ROBERT EKINS that on November 12, 1960, CLARENCE HATHAWAY, Political Analyst of "The Worker", would speak at 37 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut, concerning, "The Results of the 1960 Elections and the Outlook for the Future". RESNICK requested that EKINS "help out on this" since it may be the only affair "we'll probably have this year or for most of the winter". According to the informant, RESNICK was of the opinion that HATHAWAY may be a drawing card with some who remember the "better days" of the CP.

On April 13, 1961, NH T-4 advised that on April 9, 1961 SIDNEY RESNICK attended a meeting of the CCRBFDC, held at New Haven, Connecticut on that date.

As previously set forth, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed PHIL BART at New Haven, Connecticut, on April 8, 1961 at which time he conferred with SIDNEY TAYLOR and SIDNEY RESNICK.

NH T-10 advised on April 9, 1961, that on that date, PHIL BART said that he had been in contact with SIDNEY RESNICK on April 8, 1961.

2. Other Officers

a. State Board

During the period of this report, no additional information has been received indicating the identity of any additional individuals who are members of the State Board of the CP of Conn.

b. Miscellaneous

On May 3, 1961, NH T-5 stated that a CP of Conn. meeting was held at Wallingford, Connecticut, on that date at which SIDNEY TAYLOR and SIDNEY RESNICK, among others, were present.

During the meetings, TAYLOR discussed the need for a CP Organizer in Connecticut. He said that for anyone to do an effective job as organizer, such position would have to be undertaken on a full-time basis. TAYLOR stated that anyone who takes the job will become publicly identified as such and as a result thereof, would probably be fired from any employment which he might obtain.

Informant further stated that according to TAYLOR, arrangements had been made to have a representative of the "National Office" at New York, New York, come to New Haven in order that the matter of appointing a full-time CP Organizer for the State of Connecticut might be discussed.

On May 7, 1961, NH T-10 stated that on that date, PHIL BART said that he had attended a meeting at New Britain, Connecticut on that date. BART said that the "situation" in Connecticut was very bad and that the CP of Conn. was going through the "1956 - 1957 period".

D. ACTIVITY

1. State Activity

On April 13, 1961, NH T-4 stated that on April 9, 1961, a meeting of the CCRBFDC was held at 37 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut, which was attended by SIDNEY RESNICK, JAKE GOLDRING and SIDNEY TAYLOR, among others. JAKE GOLDRING, Co-Chairman, called the meeting to order. During ensuing discussion by those present, it was decided that \$500.00 would be sent by the Committee to the "Cleveland, Taft-Hartley Conspiracy Victims" and that \$100.00 would be sent to ARTHUR MC PHAUL, a Michigan resident. It was announced that as of April 1, 1961, the Committee had a bank balance of \$3,659.00 and that with the above-mentioned disbursement, a balance of approximately \$3,000.00 would be maintained.

GOLDRING said that the amount of \$1,350.00 was outstanding; that \$1,000.00 was to be distributed in the Hartford and New Britain, Connecticut areas; and that \$350.00 was to be distributed in the Fairfield, Connecticut area. It was agreed that a period of two years would be allowed for bond holders to claim outstanding money. GOLDRING said that the next meeting of the Committee would be held in the Fall of 1961, at which time an attempt would be made to ascertain how much money had been distributed.

NH T-5 advised on May 8, 1961 that a CP meeting was held at Wallingford, Connecticut on May 3, 1961. At that time, SIDNEY TAYLOR said that on May 7, 1961 a representative of the CP, USA, would come to Connecticut in order to discuss the possibility of assigning an individual from the New York, New York area to Connecticut as State or District Organizer.

During the meeting, SIDNEY RESNICK gave a political report touching on events in Cuba, especially pertaining to the invasion of that country. RESNICK said that the attempted invasion of Cuba resulted in a great "people's victory" and a severe blow to the United States imperialists.

On May 19, 1961, NH T-11 advised that on May 6, 1961, SIDNEY RESNICK commented that "everybody" had been pleased with the appearance of LOUIS WEINSTOCK at New Haven, Connecticut, during the preceeding week. The informant did not elaborate on the significance of RESNICK's remark.

NY 100-4931

*Rept. N.Y. 7/21/61*

*sa, Waters Re: CPUSA*

*CPUSA*

ORGANIZATION  
(Bufile 100-3-69)  
(New York File 100-80641)

This section was prepared by Special Agent (SA)  
JOSEPH V. WATERS.

Location of National  
Office of CP, USA

*ST  
PC*

The National Office of the Communist Party is located on the third floor at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, and has been maintained there during the interval between April 1, 1961 and June 30, 1961. The CPUSA is listed in the Manhattan Telephone Directory at this address, its number being Murray Hill 5-5755.

(NY T-30, April 1 to June 30, 1961)

The National Office of the CP occupies the third floor of the three story building at 23 West 26th Street, New York City. A large room at the front end of this floor is used for meetings of small groups of the Party's leadership. To the rear of this meeting room there is a reception room also used for office work and the rest of this third floor is occupied with offices of various sizes utilized by the leadership. GUS HALL and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS maintain desks in the large meeting room at the front end of the floor and others of the leadership are assigned space to the rear. There is additional space in a penthouse on the roof of the building which is suitable for use as an office and conference room, but this space does not appear to be utilized on a continuing basis at this time.

The New York State CP has its offices on the second floor of the building and on that floor there is also a meeting

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room at the front of the building as well as a reception room and individual office space.

The main floor and basement are the quarters of "The Worker". The main or first floor provides office space toward the front and behind this is a large room used for editorial purposes and it contains a suitable amount of reference works used in preparation of the weekly issues of the paper. In the basement "The Worker" maintains equipment for addressing copies of the publication as well as additional office space and storage of additional reference material that is not necessary for use on a daily basis.

The CP, USA and the New York State Party do not identify themselves on the outside of the building as tenants, but "The Worker" maintains a sign on the building indicating its location there. "The Worker" also keeps a stand on the front steps of the building offering the latest issue of "The Worker" to passers-by who are invited by a sign to help themselves to a copy without charge.

(NY T-31  
May 20, 1961)

Status of Proceedings Under  
McCarran and Smith Acts

On June 5, 1961, the United States Supreme Court announced its decision in the appeal of the CP against the findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board. By a five to four decision, the court found that the Party was required to register with the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist action organization pursuant to the provisions of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. The Supreme Court on June 5, 1961, affirmed the conviction JUNIUS SCALES under the Smith Act provision covering membership in the CP.



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On June 5, 1961, a statement to the press was issued in the name of GUS HALL as General Secretary of the CP. This declared that the Supreme Court had struck a crushing blow to democracy and the Constitution by upholding the membership clause of the Smith Act and the registration required by the Mc Carran Act. The decisions were said to be a dragnet aimed at intimidating the forces of peace, democracy and social progress without regard to political affiliation. The "bare majority of the court" and the reactionary forces for whom the court was said to speak were declared to be mistaken in thinking the CP can be prevented <sup>from</sup> carrying out its "clear and present duty" to defend democracy and peace. The claim was made that the CP is a legal political party and would be derelict if it did not fight for its legal rights and existence.

(NY T-30  
June 5, 1961)

GUS HALL, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS held a press conference at the National Office of the Party on June 8, 1961.

On this occasion, HALL said that it was not a farewell press conference and with reference to the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the Party, said that the Mc Carran Act was never passed with the idea of compliance but is a "diabolical fraud" passed for the purpose of setting up apparatus for policing all opposition and political parties.

HALL announced that attorneys for the Party had been instructed to file an application for a rehearing and stay of application. He asserted that they were not going to be informants and were not even going to hide behind the asserted fact that the Party has no membership list. He said that they would not betray the confidence of a single member or supporter and as officers of the Party

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would prefer to live in prison for the rest of their lives/<sup>rather</sup> than betray the trust of one member or supporter.

Upon being asked in the course of this press conference how many Party members there are, HALL said that there were 10,000 as of a year and a half before, at the time of the Party's 17th National Convention and had increased somewhat since then.

HALL was also asked whether in the event of war between Russia and the United States he would support the latter and he responded that the question was hypothetical and said that they firmly believed no such war would ensue and further that there would not be a world war of any type.

(NY T-1  
June 8, 1961)

On June 8, 1961, a meeting of the New York State CP Board and others was held at Adelphi Hall, New York City, and was addressed by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON who reported on the action of the Party of the Supreme Court decision.

PATTERSON said the finding of the court was an imperialistic weapon useable against any group advocating a progressive program. He remarked that the decision came after a meeting of President KENNEDY with KHRUSHCHEV and constituted a repudiation of everything that may have come out of that meeting. He declared that the Party will not register but will campaign to defeat the decision. A department was to be set up to conduct this attack and a campaign for a \$50,000 fund would be launched.

(NY T-32  
June 8, 1961)

On June 18, 1961, PHIL BART addressed a meeting of the New England District CP Committee at Chelsea, Massachusetts.

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and said with reference to the decision of the Supreme Court that the Party has no membership list and even if it did, would not file it. He also said that the Party certainly was not going to hide and has no intention of going underground. On the contrary, it is to fight for its legality. He declared it imperative that there be unity and that the Party mobilize its forces to fight back. He pointed out that a review of the decision had been requested and there was great need to work on the issues involved, particularly by non-Party people, observing that if the Party fought alone it would be a lost cause.

(NY T-33  
June 19, 1961)

IRVING POTASH addressed a large meeting of the New York County CP Council on June 21, 1961, at Adelphi Hall, New York City, and said he was there to explain the thinking of the CP National Committee with regard to the Supreme Court decisions. He saw them as an attack on the civil liberties of everyone but served to prove that the bourgeoisie is being pressed. It is now necessary that the Party find ways to strengthen and build the Communist movement. He also said that the membership should not discuss action to be taken in the light of these decisions since the leadership was then discussing <sup>with</sup> their attorneys. POTASH would welcome suggestions from individuals but discussions at a lower level would be reckless. Later at this meeting ABRAHAM UNGER offered that the Party should dissolve as a tactical measure. POTASH interrupted, charging that UNGER was reckless and the matter should not be discussed there. He also said that the members would not tolerate such action with respect to a serious matter, especially by those fully aware of the recklessness involved.

(NY T-34  
June 22, 1961)

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A press release of the CP dated June 11, 1961, claimed that the statement of Attorney General ROBERT KENNEDY with reference to the Supreme Court decisions, was an evasion of the meaning to the American people. The statement said that the Attorney General was trying to conceal the fact that enforcement of the law means liquidation of the Bill of Rights and is an attempt to suppress the movement for peace, social progress and democracy. Denial was made that Party members are foreign agents and it was said that they would not embrace a lie and register under the Mc Carran Act.

The statement in this press release said that regardless of one's attitude toward the CP the broadest action of labor and the people is necessary to restore the Bill of Rights in order that avenues of peaceful democratic change may remain open.

(NY T-31  
June 20, 1961)

Supreme Court Decision on  
Unemployment Compensation  
for Party Employees

"The Worker", June 18, 1961, published a statement attributed to the National Office of the CP, USA, on a decision of the United States Supreme Court which reversed a New York court finding that employees of the CP were excluded from unemployment compensation in that State.

This decision was said to show the contradictory and illegal character of the earlier ruling by the court requiring registration under the Mc Carran Act.

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Of  
Stay/Registration By CP Under  
Mc Carran Act Granted by  
Supreme Court

On June 23, 1961, the United States Supreme Court by Justice FRANKFURTER granted a stay to the CP eliminating the immediate necessity of registration by the CP under the Mc Carran Act until such time as a rehearing of the case might be had. On the same date, June 23, 1961, the Party issued a press release making the point that their petition argued that the registration order violates the Fifth Amendment and that a proposal of the government to effect another form of registration was an effort to circumvent the laws flouting of the Constitution. The proposal of the government was said to expose unworkability of the act and its incompatibility with the Bill of Rights.

However, it was pointed out that the fight against that act and others is far from won. It was noted that the Supreme Court's decision with reference to the membership provision of the Smith Act still stands and a petition for a rehearing in the case of JUNIUS SCALES was denied and he is to serve a sentence of six years.

(NY T -30  
June 23, 1961)

"The Worker" of June 25, 1961, reported that the CP had filed a petition for a rehearing in the Mc Carran Act case and also noted that an open letter to the American people had been issued and was being published as a paid advertisement in the "New York Times" and the "Washington Post" and was being distributed as a broadside in the hundreds of thousands.

This open letter was also published in the June 25, 1961, issue of "The Worker" and was addressed to "Fellow

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Americans." It claimed that voluntary associations were being made subject to licensing by the Federal Government and activity on behalf of a legal party is to be treated as a crime, according to decisions of the Supreme Court with reference to the McCarran and Smith Acts.

The letter went on to say that the Party had taken steps to request a rehearing by the Supreme Court and at the same time was placing its case before the highest court of all, the bar of public opinion.

The reader was urged to advise the President, the Attorney General and the Congress that America wants an end to "these fascist-like laws".

Composition of CP  
National Board

The National Board of the CP, USA, has the following members:

PHIL BART  
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS  
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN  
GUS HALL  
CLARENCE HATHAWAY  
JAMES E. JACKSON  
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT  
HYMAN LUMER  
IRVING POTASH  
JACK STACHEL

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This Board has supplanted the Secretariat of the Party, which has been abolished.

(NY T-35  
April 20, 1961)

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

In March, 1961, JACK STACHEL proposed to GUS HALL that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS be assigned to organization and trade union work in order to familiarize him with those fields and thus equip him to be an all-around-leader of the Party. STACHEL has observed that DAVIS, as National Secretary, claims not to know what his duties are and therefore, he should become chairman of the Organization Bureau with PHIL BART as Organization Secretary. STACHEL went on that the organization commission consisting of DAVIS, BART and himself could meet regularly and be responsible for the day-to-day organizational work. DAVIS, STACHEL said, should participate in trade union work which is the most important work in the Party, STACHEL pointing out that he was not minimizing Negro work. STACHEL said that HALL was agreeable to this proposal and that DAVIS was told about it.

(NY T-29  
March 28, 1961)

JAMES ALLEN

JACK STACHEL on May 10, 1961, stated that JAMES ALLEN was then acting head of the Education Department replacing HYMAN LUMER.

(NY T-36  
May 10, 1961)

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It is to be noted that on February 20, 1961, the United States Supreme Court denied certiorari in the case in which LUMER and others were convicted for violation of the Labor Management Relations Act. LUMER had been sentenced to a term of 18 months but had not begun serving his sentence pending this appeal. He is now scheduled to begin his sentence in August, 1961.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

By circular letter dated June 5, 1961, PHIL BART advised Party members that it had been learned that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER was then in very serious condition, his health then having taken a turn for the worse. His family is said to be with him. No further information was available concerning FOSTER according to the letter, but it was deemed desirable to provide information on the serious state of his health.

( NY T-37 and NY T-38  
June 9, 1961)

It may be noted that FOSTER departed the United States for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to secure treatment and has been in Moscow for that purpose.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY

At the end of the week of June 11, 1961, CLARENCE HATHAWAY was scheduled to leave for Minnesota according to GUS HALL. It was indicated that HATHAWAY was suffering from extremely bad health and was compelled to give up most of his Party duties.

(NY T-35, June 13, 1961)

HENRY WINSTON

On June 30, 1961, President KENNEDY commuted the sentence of HENRY WINSTON to the time he has already served and WINSTON was freed on that date. However, WINSTON has been treated for a brain tumor which had cost him his sight and his condition has been such that the restoration of his health is considered unlikely.



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Consideration Being Given  
to Postponement of 18<sup>th</sup> National  
Convention of Party

The CP, USA, has been scheduled to hold a National Convention by the end of 1961. However, efforts are being made in an unobtrusive way to promote "request from below" to postpone a convention. It is hoped that this request will appear to be spontaneous. The thinking is that there are a number of tasks confronting the Party which must be carried through that a convention is not needed at this time, and postponement of a convention for a year would not affect the future of the Party. It is believed that a convention would provide an opportunity for struggle and discussion reflecting a lack of confidence in the leadership and postponement would assure security for the leadership for another year.

(NY T-35, May 22, 1961)

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Press Drive Launched

By letter dated April 20, 1961, addressed "To All Districts", signed by PHIL BART, it was announced that "The Worker" staff had discussed the status of the press circulation drive and the conclusion had been reached that the Party must help involve the membership in the drive.

The letter set out that a committee had been set up to coordinate the campaign nationally for the party and its members were LOUIS WEINSTOCK, JACK STACHEL and PHIL BART. This committee was to arrange meetings for all districts of the party on the East Coast as well as in New York. The meetings would involve a number of people active in connection with "The Worker" as well as others who should give leadership.

Further it is proposed that a National Press Day be held on June 3, 1961. Following this, on June 9, 1961, there would be press conferences in New York and Chicago to hear reports on the experiences of the month and outline activities for the period ahead.

(NY T-35, April 24, 1961)

By letter dated May 5, 1961, PHIL BART advised all National Committee members of "The Worker" circulation drive and proposed to culminate this activity by a National Press Day on June 4, 1961.

(NY T-35, May 8, 1961)

Celebration of May Day

A rally in celebration of May Day was observed on May 1, 1961, at Washington Square, New York City.

The Bureau of Special Services of the New York City Police Department estimated an attendance of about 1200 people at this rally, however, half of these persons came from dissident groups.

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LOUIS WEINSTOCK was introduced as a speaker and was greeted with boos by a group of students in front of the speaker's stand. WEINSTOCK declared that they wished to hold a peaceful demonstration and he exclaimed "Long live internationalism! Long live solidarity! Long live peace!" He went on to describe May Day as an American holiday celebrated in the same way throughout the world. He said it is a celebration of the unity of the American people with the working people of the world.

Another speaker was JAMES E. JACKSON who was questioned by the group of students about the situation of Hungary. He responded that this was the same as what took place in Cuba, saying that Americans, not Russians, intervened in Hungary. Other parts of his speech were inaudible because of a failure of the public address equipment.

(Special Agents of the  
Federal Bureau of Invest-  
igation)

Appearance of GUS HALL at Newark, New Jersey, on June 2, 1961

A reception and dinner in honor of GUS HALL and in observance of New Jersey Press Freedom Week was held on June 2, 1961 at the Ukrainian Home, Newark, New Jersey, with about 100 attending.

GUS HALL told this gathering that in order to understand what is going on in the world one must realize that a new epoch is at hand. Before the two World Wars, capitalism and the monopolies were in power and made the decisions. That the balance of power has shifted and the Socialists and anti-colonialists are deciding. Capitalism and imperialism are engaged in a holding operation but meeting defeat after defeat, as in Cuba and Laos, while the forces of Socialism are victorious. HALL said that no people want

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to be governed by an outside force and the exploitation of Africa and Asia by England and France and the monopolies of the United States is turning those places to Socialism as the best means of solving their problems.

(NY T-39, June 5, 1961)

National Plan of Work by the CP

In a memorandum on a National Plan of Work, it was reported that the National Executive Committee has adopted a Plan of Work for the period July to December, 1961. The approach to the plan was said to be that of developing a policy of concentration as a means of carrying out the plan, the Party being required to strengthen its base, primarily among the working class, the basic workers in the major industrial centers. The aim of the plan is to create procedures essential to the functioning of the Party club.

In the Plan of Work stress is laid on the building of a united front on all levels, it being said that every club and comrade must help develop worker activity around the unions, mass organizations, and communities, and at all times they must keep in mind the need of combining mass work and the building of the Party, increasing the circulation of the press and extending influence among the masses. A concentration policy requires that the Party direct its energies to the most important sections of the working class, the Negro people and the youth. Regularity of meetings of Party clubs is recommended. These would be held twice a month if possible with consideration being given to the needs of a club. Regular dues payments should be collected with a quarterly control. The ideological strengthening of the membership and leadership is essential to development of more effective mass work, and the Educational Commission has drafted a plan for this purpose.

According to the National Plan of Work, it was said that the Organization Bureau is to be responsible for checking on the plan and reporting to the National Board.

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Committees are to hear progress reports on the plan monthly, and members of the National Board and staff shall be designated to help in particular districts.

(NY T-37, NY T-38 - June 9, 1961)

Meetings of CP Leadership

An informal discussion was held at the National Office of the Party on April 4, 1961, and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS observed that a National Secretary has no function in the CP and he thought the post should be abolished. He said the Harlem area of New York is theoretically a concentration point and believed that the Party should station someone there who has a "high mass potential." He thought he should be installed in other than a Party office. DAVIS said that it is his opinion that the Party has no one in New York in charge of Negro work, observing that WILLIAM L. PATTERSON has limited capacity inasmuch as he reaches the age of 70 in August, 1961.

JACK STACHEL said that Harlem should be discussed at another time and PHIL BART observed that problems will not be solved by an office in Harlem. He saw a need to re-establish confidence in collective leadership of the Party, of whom DAVIS is one, and that leadership is needed now. STACHEL remarked that for the past 15 years there has not been a unified leadership of the Party and that that cannot continue.

DAVIS commented that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, who is in charge of Negro work in the Party, decides for himself what role he is to play in the Illinois District leadership, but there is a reluctance to permit him, DAVIS, to see what he might do in the very important area of Harlem.

(NY T-1, April 4, 1961)

A meeting of the CP National Board, and others was held on April 5, 1961, at the Party's National Office and on this occasion JAMES ALLEN characterized the defense budget proposed by President KENNEDY as essentially an EISENHOWER budget with emphasis on missiles, and described as a most dangerous

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aspect of this defense program the emphasis on limited and guerrilla war. He asserted that the Party must continue to show the necessity of banning war and the danger of expanding a small war into a big one.

HYMAN LUMER reported that the Education Commission had discussed the Civil War Centennial to develop plans with relation to it. He urged that the occasion be used to bring to the American people the real character and place of that war in struggle for democracy and equal rights in the United States today.

(NY T-1, April 5, 1961)

At a meeting of several of the leaders of the CPUSA, on April 7, 1961, at the CP National Office, JACK STACHEL stated that the giving away of foreign aid including military aid actually took money from the people and handed it over to the monopolists in the form of profit, resulting in lowering the living standards and increasing danger of war. The Party, he said, must prove to the people that a war economy not only creates war danger but is a danger to the liberty and livelihood of the people.

With reference to the KENNEDY Administration, STACHEL said that its policy is one of monopoly - capitalism, and forgetting this is a departure from Marxism and working class policy. The question today, he said, is not what will the President do, but rather what can the people make him do.

JAMES ALLEN observed that plans of the Socialist world envision a position of absolute superiority in economic growth by 1975 or 1980, however, one will not have to wait that long before this is felt in a decline of imperialism and monopoly-capitalism.

(NY T-1, April 7, 1961)

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The National Board and others met at the Party's National Office on April 12, 1961, and this began with a heated discussion of the text of a cablegram being sent to KHRUSHCHEV congratulating the USSR on launching a man in space.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS said he was satisfied with the message prepared by GUS HALL but PHIL BART and JACK STACHEL had changed the wording with disregard of DAVIS' feeling, and that it had been satisfactory as originally written. DAVIS claimed that STACHEL had no right to change the cablegram without discussing that change with DAVIS and therefore STACHEL'S action was considered by him to be chauvinism.

STACHEL rejoined that DAVIS was always shouting chauvinism but probably did not know its meaning.

IRVING POTASH said the cablegram should have been shown to DAVIS after change was made as DAVIS is National Secretary. He said he hesitated to agree with the characterization of the action as white chauvinism.

After some further discussion in which shouting by STACHEL and DAVIS took place DAVIS agreed that the point of view of POTASH was that of the majority of those present, and he was agreeable to letting the matter rest.

Later in the meeting, DAVIS reported on the John Birch Society, describing it as demonstrating reaction to the growing struggle and strength of the labor movement, Negro people and advanced forces as well as the growing strength of the USSR and the Socialist Camp. He urged that the Party call for complete exposure of that society, claiming that there is evidence to the effect that its members believe in violence and declared outlawing and prosecution should be called for.

(NY T-1 April 12, 1961)

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Several of the leadership of the CPUSA met on April 17, 1961, at the National Office of the Party and BENJAMIN J. DAVIS opened the meeting, declaring that the action in Cuba was an act of murder and would not have taken place without the backing of American imperialism.

After some discussion by those present, GUS HALL brought it to a conclusion by stating that responsibility for the invasion must be placed in a major way on the administration and the danger to world peace must be pointed out by the Party.

(NY T-1 April 17, 1961)

A meeting of the CP National Board was held on April 19, 1961, at the Party's National Office and GUS HALL described the Cuban situation as serious and critical in the struggle for peace. He went on to say that there will be more such crucial moments in this period and no long intervals of tranquility. He said the failure of the Cuban invasion was a serious blow to the prestige of the United States and the administration. He said it was crucial for the Party to do anything to stop any future involvement by the Armed Forces of the United States in the Cuban invasion.

The National Board decided that a meeting of the National Executive Committee should be scheduled for May 27, 28, 1961.

(NY T-2, April 19, 1961)

On April 26, 1961, the National Board of the Party met at its National Office and the meeting was opened with WILLIAM WEINSTONE presenting a summary of the French-Algerian situation. He said that the French Generals had miscalculated as did the Central Intelligence Agency and the administration in Cuba.

PHIL BART said that the invasion of Cuba was carried



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through by the Central Intelligence Agency and those forces had been withdrawn and were again under American military control in Puerto Rico. He went on to say that there is no assurance of direct action against Cuba in the immediate future but there may be some economic steps taken against it. As a result of the failure of the invasion there will be many expressions of a partisan point of view and the CP must participate and find forms for expression.

GUS HALL said it is necessary to initiate some activities among the Puerto Ricans in order to convince them that their soil should not be used for war or aggression. At a later point in the meeting, JACK STACHEL informed that at the first meeting of the task force for organizing the work of the center, he had proposed BENJAMIN J. DAVIS as chairman of the Organization Bureau and become one of a committee of three having the responsibility for execution of all policies coordinating the work of the center. STACHEL said that DAVIS has had a different approach to this work.

DAVIS told the meeting that the position of the National Secretary is not needed and the position of chairman of the Organization Commission does not appeal to him. He suggested that his role should be discussed by the National Board in Executive Session and he said he would propose that he go to Harlem to re-establish the relationship of the CP with the Negro people.

GUS HALL commented that DAVIS had been offered a number of important posts and had rejected them all. He said the point has been reached at which DAVIS will become a part of the leadership or not and the question would be placed before the Party's leadership. He said no member of the Board can continue without specific responsibility.

The meeting was concluded when GUS HALL recommended that HYMAN LUMER be relieved of all his assignments until he finishes his term in prison. He also urged that the question

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of DAVIS be resolved in the very near future, saying that it was a serious question affecting the entire leadership of the Party.

(NY T-2, April 26, 1961)

The National Board of the Party met at the CP National Office on May 3, 1961, and it was decided to hold a meeting of the National Executive Committee on May 27, 28, 1961.

PHIL BART reported on efforts being made to convey the policies of the CP to the masses. He noted a proposal to hold 50 to 100 meetings during the period May 15, through June 15, 1961, with those meetings being of a general nature in order to reach the masses, special attention being given to youth. It was proposed that a series of campuses be selected where meetings could be arranged.

There was some discussion of the election situation in New York and the role to be played by the CP in influencing the election of candidates dedicated to a broad economic and social program.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY suggested that there should not be exaggeration of their ability in this situation and that they should not project the idea that the Party is a decisive force in terms of its membership and influence. He said that the greatest possibility of influence lies in pressure in community groups concerned with school issues and segregation, tenant clubs and peace groups. HATHAWAY said if the Party runs its own candidates, the situation will be much as it was in the national campaign when the entire Party was mobilized for the gathering of signatures in given areas and thus was unable to play a role in the general campaign.

The meeting reached no decision on whether or not to run candidates of the CP.

(NY T-1, May 3, 1961)

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An enlarged meeting of the National Board was to be held in New York on May 6, 1961, to hear a report and discuss the topic of the current situation in the trade unions and the work of the CP in this connection. IRVING POTASH was scheduled to provide this report.

(NY T-35, May 1, 1961)

The minutes of the meeting of the Board on May 6, 1961, reflected that this meeting held a discussion of new developments in the labor movement. Following the discussion, among the motions adopted was assignment of a committee to prepare a resolution or statement on the basis of the discussion at the meeting for circulation in the Party.

This would be drafted and discussed by the Trade Union Commission and approved by the National Board. This document would then be sent to all districts and clubs and ways would be found to publish it in "Political Affairs" and in "The Worker." The Education Department was to prepare a discussion outline for clubs on this subject.

(NY T-4, May 15, 1961)

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A special meeting of the National Board of the CP, USA, was scheduled for May 9, 1961. This meeting was to take up the question of the duties of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS. This meeting was also to take up the question of abolishing the title of National Secretary, an office which had been created for DAVIS.

(NY T-35  
May 1, 1960)

The above-mentioned meeting of the National Board was held as scheduled on May 9, 1961, and it was concerned entirely with the matter of DAVIS.

GUS HALL opened the meeting with detailed criticism of the work of DAVIS. To this, DAVIS responded by making charges of bossism, chauvinism, right wing influence and favoritism. He claimed he had not been given a chance to work in Harlem, nor was he allowed to work in the New York District. He charged that JACK STACHEL was responsible for the bad newspaper "The Worker" and charged STACHEL with chauvinism with reference to him. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT spoke after DAVIS and attacked him, warning DAVIS not to inject the Negro question. WILLIAM L. PATTERSON asserted DAVIS had no mass influence and was not the same person as he was a few years before. He observed that the people in Harlem now did not know DAVIS.

HALL said that DAVIS is of the belief he is going to open an office in Harlem and act as advisor and saviour and that people will come to him. He is badly mistaken. He went on that he had tried to get DAVIS to work and no man in the Party has been given so many opportunities. DAVIS, he said, cannot claim he is cooperating and at the same time create opposition and refuse to accept definite assignments.

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HALL pointed out that if DAVIS cannot work with the Negro Commission, he could not see how DAVIS could work in Harlem. If he were to work there, he would have to work with others and not by himself.

DAVIS had no supporters at the meeting, but no conclusion was arrived at. DAVIS was told to consider the situation, and was given two weeks to cease opposition and accept assignments.

(NY T-35  
May 10, 1961)

The Party's National Board met on May 10, 1961, and at this meeting, GUS HALL, in opening discussion, said that the Party must revitalize and revamp its literature apparatus. He saw a tremendous opportunity to move in the literature field, especially among colleges and youth. He thought that the CP should use modern advertising methods and promotion ideas and use college papers. He saw need for a publication committee under the educational department which would handle long range planning. He expressed the opinion the party should set up an "Alexander Trachtenberg Foundation" as owner and promoter of the publishing houses of the Party.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG agreed that there should be a start as far as publishing is concerned, but pointed out that there is an obstacle in the way of limited personnel. To this, HALL replied that a weakness has been that no one knows what is available and said that their institutions would not be saved by cutting down, but rather by promotion and expansion.

The meeting also engaged in some discussion of the Party's work in the South, GUS HALL noting that the Party was beginning to re-establish work there and he observed that

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they were not starting from scratch which he said surprised him. He said the south is becoming a more decisive area politically and he believed that the administration would move in this area and that the CP should take steps to compel it to move faster.

JAMES JACKSON said the Party must realize it cannot function openly in the South, but should provide indication of its presence. The Party he said, should function through a non-party organization.

JACK STACHEL proposed that an evaluation should be made of the south and an attempt should be made to get more direct information from that area. He thought that the National Office should give more political and financial support to the South.

(NY T-2  
May 10, 1961)

On May 16, 1961, a meeting of the staff of the leadership of the CP, USA, was held at its National Office and this meeting heard a recommendation by IRVING POTASH that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS be censured by the National Executive Committee and warned that if his present course of action was continued, he would be relieved as National Secretary.

JACK STACHEL proposed that the NEC recommend to the party's National Committee that DAVIS be removed from the NEC. A meeting of the Board to deal with this question was tentatively set for May 23, 1961.

PHIL BART reported on a plan of work adopted by the Organizational Bureau. Among the proposals mentioned by BART were that party building would be centered around the

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club, dues payments would be established on a regular basis, and the objective set of reconstituting the Party organization in fifty cities throughout the country. Attention would be given to strengthening existing youth clubs, integrating youth in other clubs and increasing youth membership by fifty per cent in 1961.

(NY T-2  
May 16, 1961)

The National Board of the CP, USA, meeting, on May 17, 1961, according to minutes of that meeting, was concerned with a report on developments in agriculture and on legislation before Congress on that subject. Motions were passed aimed at increasing activity of the Party in the agriculture field.

JAMES ALLEN reported on developments in Laos and a motion was adopted to request "The Worker" to carry an exposure of CIA with reference to para-military activities in colonial and semi-colonial countries by the Pentagon and CIA.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS reported on activity carried on by "Freedom Riders" and a motion was passed to the effect that DAVIS was to be responsible for a committee to meet at once to consider a program of action and meetings by which to influence labor, Negroes and other organizations as well as Party activity in that matter.

GUS HALL reported that CLARENCE HATHAWAY had suffered another disabling attack (presumably of asthma) and had to be hospitalized, his condition being such as to affect his work in the New York District. Recommendation was made to the New York District of the CP that WILLIAM PATTERSON become

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acting chairman of that district. It was also proposed that IRVING POTASH be designated National Representative to work with the leadership of that district.

(NY T-4  
May 23, 1961)

Several of the leadership of the CP, USA, met at the Party's National Office on May 22, 1961, and this meeting was concerned principally with activity in connection with the "Freedom Riders" in Alabama. JAMES JACKSON urged that editorially "The Worker" seek to enlist the support of the broadest forces in the country, particularly trade unions, to assume responsibility for action on behalf of the Negro people. He urged also that the CP attribute responsibility to the administration for meeting the challenge represented by the action of the Alabama authorities. Pressure should be brought on the administration to make federal intervention sufficient in force to meet the situation.

IRVING POTASH recommended a demand for a federal injunction against the Governor of Alabama to prevent incitation to violence and that the CP explore the possibility of action by the UN. He also suggested general membership meetings of the party be called through "The Worker" in order that party members might initiate activity in their own organizations.

(NY T-1  
May 22, 1961)

The National Board of the party and others met at the CP National Office on May 24, 1961. This meeting opened with discussion of activity by the CP in support of the "Freedom Riders".



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GUS HALL, in a discussion of the administration, said there is no thought of putting CIA under any control or downgrading it, but on the contrary, it would be built up. He described the CIA as "the main area of influence and control that monopoly and capitalism and the military has in government".

ESTHER JACKSON reported on the magazine "Freedomways" and said the magazine needs the aid and support of all Party members in supplying the names of clergymen, trade unionists, NAACP leaders and white people.

The meeting agreed that the magazine was of value and suggestions were made that the party should assist in building it.

(NY T-1  
May 24, 1961)

A special meeting on May 26, 1961, was to be held by the National Executive Committee for the purpose of discussing the project of publication of "The Worker" twice a week.

For May 30, 1961, a second meeting was scheduled to again consider the matters discussed at the meeting on May 9, 1961, with reference to BENJAMIN J. DAVIS.

(NY T-35  
May 19, 1961)

The National Executive Committee of the CP met at the Party's National Office on May 26, 1961, and there was discussion of the issuance of "The Worker" twice a week and the ultimate objective of publication of the paper on a

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daily basis at a future time. The Party representatives from the Midwest were in opposition to the proposal of semi-weekly publication because of the suggestion that the Midwest edition of "The Worker" be abandoned. It was decided that the proposal of semi-weekly publication be approved and would begin on Labor Day. The matter was put over for a further discussion at the meeting of the full NEC on May 27 and 28, 1961.

Thereafter, the meeting was moved to the Chelsea Hotel. Attendance at this meeting was limited to NEC members and at this time GUS HALL reviewed the case against BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, pointing out DAVIS' failure to perform assignments and his unfriendly attitude toward the leadership. DAVIS denied being at fault. A subcommittee consisting of HALL, JAMES JACKSON and JACK STACHEL was appointed to prepare a statement of the issues concerning DAVIS. DAVIS was instructed to prepare a reply. The discussion was scheduled to continue at the NEC meeting on the following day.

(NY T-35  
May 27, 1961)

At the opening of the enlarged NEC meeting, held at the Party's National Office on May 27 and 28, 1961, the agenda was announced as a report by GUS HALL covering the Alabama situation, the coming meeting between President KENNEDY and KHRUSHCHEV and the latest developments in the labor situation. Other topics that would be discussed would be youth, work in connection with Party building and the press. There was also to be a report on the approaching conventions of the NAACP and other Negro organizations.

GUS HALL noted that six months had passed since a meeting of Marxist leaders of the world and history had shown the correctness of the conclusion of that meeting. The

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administration he said, had been in office four months and had already become old with many characteristics of administrations in office a long time. He said for the coming period, the center of gravity would shift to the KENNEDY - KHRUSHCHEV meeting. HALL went on to say that from the time KENNEDY agreed to the meeting, the relative position of the United States, world capitalism and reactionary forces has deteriorated. The Cuban defeat was a contributing factor and was a blow to United States imperialism from which it will never recover.

HALL also said that the party's electoral policy was correctly based on a statement of LENIN of years ago, "The most important thing is to bring the masses into motion, thereby enabling them to accumulate experience within a short period of time". He said their policy did not isolate them as individuals and as a party. With reference to Cuba, he said developments there should be an inspiration and they should ask whether there is a possibility of mobilizing people to defend Cuba and HALL thought the answer was in the affirmative.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS said he considered one of the main attacks of the American ruling class against the CP to be not terror, jailing, illegality and so on, but the attempt to convince the Negro people and the working class that the CP is not necessary. He saw the party's role as the creation of possibilities of people to liberate themselves by infusing them with the understanding and knowledge of Marxism - Leninism.

MORTIMER DANIEL RUBIN, in the course of his report on youth, recommended that within the following four months, every district committee and club discuss the application of suggestions for strengthening youth work along general lines, a Party commission be established to work out a program on youth needs, the National Board of the Party strengthen the

NY 100-4931

National Youth Commission with the addition of adults and consider strengthening other Commissions by the addition of youth and the Board consider how much and how to make an additional substantial contribution to youth work.

PHIL BART, reporting on Party organization, noted that the National Board had decided that a plan of work for the second half of 1961 should be prepared and discussed. He noted that it had been proposed that a plan of work be drafted, taking into consideration a few of the more important questions of organization. He said that in the plan presented at this meeting, they would confine themselves to the following: First - The plan would be based on a concentration approach to work too long neglected. The areas of concentration, the industries and places for such work would be worked out by the districts. Secondly - He said the Party should direct itself to the club, pointing out a need to attend a number of minimum procedures essential to the functioning of a club. He noted that there had been proposals to re-establish Party organizations in fifty cities where the Party has continued to exist or where there had once been an organization.

BART said that the Organization Bureau is to be responsible for checking up on the Party's plan of work and is to report to the National Board. Members of the Board, the National Staff and National Committee are to be given specific responsibilities.

The meeting approved publication of a mid-week edition of "The Worker" as a step toward daily publication and to regard the continuation of the Midwest edition of "The Worker" as a separate question. The draft plan of work submitted by PHIL BART was approved unanimously.

(NY T-1  
May 27 and 28, 1961)

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The CP National Board met on May 31, 1961, at the Party's National Office and heard a report by HYMAN LUMER on the economic situation in the United States. LUMER said that the country has been going through a series of economic cycles since the end of the war without a major crisis. This has taken place on the basis of a growing instability and stagnation.

JAMES ALLEN proposed establishment of an economic research committee to formulate an economic program.

JACK STACHEL proposed that LUMER's report be accepted and sent to National Committee members and to the districts and that a accompanying letter incorporating the proposal of ALLEN be sent. Both proposals were unanimously adopted.

(NY T-1  
May 31, 1961)

On June 6, 1961, a meeting of several of the leadership of the CP, USA, took place at the party's National Office. GUS HALL reported on the significance of the Supreme Court decision requiring registration of the party, pursuant to the Mc Carran Act. HALL said there would be a meeting with the party's lawyers on June 7, 1961, and a meeting of the National Executive Committee on June 10 and 11, 1961.

HALL said that the seriousness of the situation created by the decision cannot be over emphasized, but he perceived a good opportunity to win in view of developments in the world and said the party can mount such an offensive that the blow can be turned back. He said the party must show the broad masses of people the connection between the decision and the struggle for peace, equality for the Negro people and the struggle of the working class. He proposed

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an open letter to the people, which letter would have an historic understanding and content and suggested that such a letter be published in the "New York Times" and a few other newspapers.

In conclusion, HALL recommended establishing a fund of \$50,000 "to re-establish our basic constitutional, democratic rights."

(NY T-1  
June 6, 1961)

An enlarged meeting of the NEC of the Party was held on June 10 and 11, 1961, at the National Office of the Party. The agenda was announced as a report by GUS HALL with a sub-report by CARL WINTER on the legal aspects of the ruling by the Supreme Court, a sub-report by HYMAN LUMER on action and program and, lastly, a discussion on these items.

GUS HALL said that their approach would be that all questions cannot be resolved at this time. He saw in the decision of the Supreme Court, a new stage in the general crisis of world capitalism and asserted that the ruling is proof that democracy is an obstacle in the path of capitalism. He went on to say that the party must make the most extensive and largest single effort as far as legal action is concerned as well as a campaign that is educational, agitational, political and propaganda.

CARL WINTER discussed the legal aspects of the Supreme Court decision, noting that two laws were involved, The Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Mc Carran Act. He saw compliance with the latter law as self-denunciation as a criminal and as an agent of a foreign power. He noted that the party has instructed its attorneys

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to ask for a stay and rehearing by the Supreme Court, these attorneys being instructed to state that the party officers cannot or will not be able to comply with the law in view of the Fifth Amendment.

HYMAN LUMER reported on action and a program and spoke of a special committee to be set up with himself as chairman and JAMES TORMEY, ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, PHIL BART and CARL WINTER as members. A part of the work of this committee would be to raise a \$50,000 fund.

LUMER proposed that there be an immediate publication of literature, a pamphlet setting out the dissenting opinion of Supreme Court Justice HUGO BLACK, special folders of material to be sent to labor leaders, youth and others, and preparation of a pamphlet on the nature of repressive legislation. In answer to a question, LUMER said that in some cases, the party would be identified with this material and in other cases it would not.

The session on June 10, 1961, adopted the reports of HALL and LUMER.

The session of the meeting on June 11, 1961, was devoted to discussion of activity to be undertaken by the Party in its defense.

(NY T-1  
June 10 and 11, 1961)

A meeting of the Executive of <sup>the</sup> Midwest Membership of the National Committee of the CP, USA, was held on May 19, 1961, at the headquarters of the CP of Illinois, in Chicago. This meeting decided that the Midwest members of the National Committee would meet on June 11, and the agenda would include the press and a report on automation in the steel industry.

(NY T-35  
May 19, 1961)

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The Midwest members of the Party's National Committee met in Chicago, on June 11, 1961, and CARL WINTER said that he had been detained in New York for discussion of the situation created by the decisions of the United States Supreme Court and discussion would be conducted in the light of those discussions. He said they would also discuss the Midwest edition of "The Worker". He noted that those gathered at the meeting were responsible for the circulation of their press and hence interested in the threat to freedom of the press and their discussion would concern the upholding of constitutional rights making it possible to defend themselves.

CARL WINTER observed that the Supreme Court decision was a new stage in the history of the party and it should be seen against the background of the crisis of capitalism and the rise of Communist and peoples' parties.

WINTER went on to note that one thing noted at the meeting of the leadership of the Party was the necessity of making a new start on many questions. The personal attitudes, habits, hostility and other poor aspects that were developed in the past few years within the Party cannot be tolerated. Where necessary, drastic steps will be taken to stop such things.

He said it has been emphasized that they have to avoid excesses of the past and are not going to dash into a whole number of things resorted to in 1950. None of the excesses that resulted in incapacitating the organization will be used.

There will be no organizational liquidation, he said, and nothing will be closed up. There will be adjustment of the use and distribution of forces, but there will be no closing



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up of the shop or scattering of forces. There will be no deep freezes, no uprootings and no departures.

WINTER said that on the contrary, the decisive task is to guarantee political and organizational effectiveness by "digging in", that is, becoming part of the mass forces in unions, in Negro groups in peace groups and the like. This, he said, is not the equivalent of "dispersal".

What does all this mean, he asked and said that the party is definitely not going underground and is not accepting an illegal status. Where there is a question of adhering to old forms making it possible to prove anything against anybody in the organizational structure, the reactionaries are going to be deprived of anything to work on.

(NY T-40  
June 11, 1961)

The National Board of the Party and others met at the Party's headquarters on June 21, 1961, and heard a report by JAMES ALLEN on the danger from "rightist forces". ALLEN expressed concern over the growth of the John Birch Society and said this and similar organizations cannot be considered crackpot. He called for a united front to help develop a broad program to ward off danger from the "right".

HYMAN LUMER said that the party's "open letter" seeking support of the American people was accepted for publication in the "New York Times". (This appeared in that newspaper on June 22, 1961.) LUMER said 75 thousand copies of the letter had been printed and distributed and will be printed in many other papers.

(NY T-1  
June 21, 1961)

NY 100-4931

On June 23, 1961, an enlarged meeting of the CP National Board was held in a conference room of the Statler-Hilton Hotel, New York City. The principal topics of the meeting were a discussion of defense of the Party and a report by DOROTHY HEALEY on her recent trip to the USSR.

GUS HALL said that the stay granted by the Supreme Court had not materially changed the problem faced by the CP, but represented only a postponement of action by the government. However, he said that the stay was a victory and during the meeting, a statement for the press was prepared describing that such is "a partial victory for the people who are defending themselves against an untenable law".

The meeting decided to postpone for four or five weeks, the giant defense conference of groups opposing the anti-Communist Supreme Court decisions. The conference had been tentatively scheduled for August 5, 1961, in New York City.

(NY T-35  
June 24, 1961)

The party's National Board and others met at the CP National Office on June 28, 1961, and there was discussion of the possibility of the CP running candidates for public office. It was agreed that if a candidate were named, support would have to be secured from "left forces". With reference to the mayoralty election in New York City, it was suggested that the split in the Democratic party in that city might make it possible to set up a "left liberal party" of some strength.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS said he favored having party candidates, that a determined fight should be made to show that the Party is not surrendering all its constitutional rights.

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GUS HALL reported on the Berlin situation, saying the Party should keep the question in focus until it is resolved and that it will be solved in one way or another without postponement. He admitted that the question is not an easy one for the Party to handle, but pointed out that Berlin cannot continue its present status due to the buildup of West Germany as an armed camp. He said it is the job of the Party to find arguments to convince the American people of the necessity of negotiation and to find where the self interest of the American people lies.

(NY T-1  
June 28, 1961)

FBI

Date: 7/20/61

AIRTEL

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plain text or code)

REGISTERED MAIL

Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

b6  
b7C

TO: Director, FBI (100-3-69)  
FROM: SAC, Philadelphia (100-31723)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C C I N A L

Enclosed herewith are five copies for the Bureau and two copies for New York of a letterhead memorandum reflecting the results of a meeting of the District Executive Committee Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

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This information was furnished in a written report by [redacted] The informants used in the characterization of the SYU are former [redacted]; former PS [redacted] and [redacted]

Enclosed memorandum has been classified Confidential since the data reported from [redacted] could reasonably result in the identification of a confidential informant of continuing value and compromise the effectiveness thereof.

b7D

EXTREME CAUTION SHOULD BE EXERCISED IN THE DISSEMINATION OF THIS INFORMATION INASMUCH AS ONLY FIVE MEMBERS WERE PRESENT AT THIS MEETING.

REC-20

100-3-69-8645

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (Encls-5) (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-80641) (Encls-2) (RM)
- 4 - Philadelphia
  - 1 - 100-31723
  - 1 - 100-43409 (SYU)
  - 1 - 100-42205 Sub A (CINAL Library)
  - 1 - [redacted]

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CJW:jks  
(9)

CENTRAL RESEARCH

5-jks

Approved: [redacted] Special Agent in Charge

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In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

July 20, 1961

Meeting of the District Executive  
Committee, Communist Party of  
Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD)

On July 19, 1961, a source advised a meeting of the District Executive Committee, CPEPD, was held on July 11, 1961 at 3409 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. The one-point agenda for this meeting consisted of a report by BETH LEIB, CP Youth leader, which concerned the broadening of the scope of the Socialist Youth Union (SYU).

BETH LEIB's report dealt with the activities of the SYU and desired Party approval of its future plans. According to LEIB, the role of an SYU is to contribute to mass activity, build Negro-white unity, and recruit future Communist members. The SYU has done all this as evidenced by its participation in the peace march, the Freedom Riders, the sit-ins, and various picket lines in the North. The SYU has also recruited a large number of youths.

LEIB stated the main weakness of the SYU was its failure to work in the community. LEIB recommended the SYU broaden its activities to include the community, concentrating on workers and Negro church youth. They presently plan to increase their Negro membership and participate in any community activity involving youth. An area in North Philadelphia has been selected as the main concentration point.

According to LEIB, the SYU now has about twenty members of which sixteen are Party youths. The CP Youth Club is broader than the SYU. The SYU plans the above action to correct its weakness.

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ENCLOSURE

100-369-8695

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Meeting of the District Executive  
Committee, CPEPD

After some discussion, LEIB stated she felt that youth work, like labor and Negro work, must be directed by the Communist Party.

After further discussion, THOMAS NABRIED, District Chairman, CPEPD, proposed October as "Youth Month" in the Party.

The above activity and designation of October as "Youth Month" was accepted by the District Executive Committee, CPEPD.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION OF PHILADELPHIA (SYU),  
aka Youth For Equality and Peace (YEP),  
Sunday Study Group, Winter Discussion Series  
1957-1958

A source on October 4, 1957 advised that MORTIMER DANIEL RUBIN, a Communist Party member and Communist Party youth leader, on October 3, 1957, stated there is a Youth Club in Philadelphia composed of children of progressive parents, which has no real organization, but meets as a study group. On October 30, 1957, this source furnished a mimeographed outline of scheduled meetings of this group received from DANIEL RUBIN, which bore title, "Winter Discussion Series 1957-58." This source on January 7, 1958, and February 3, 1958, advised that the Youth Club, Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware (CPEPD), assumed responsibility and formed a committee consisting of the Youth Club's Executive Committee, plus club member AARON LIBSON to prepare proposals for the formalization of the above group, then referred to as the "Sunday Study Group." This source on March 7, 1958, advised that on February 14, 1958, the educational director of the Youth Club stated the Youth Club's proposals to the Sunday Study Group had been presented to that group by AARON LIBSON and generally accepted.

Another source on March 19, 1958, advised the above group at their March 2, 1958 meeting, adopted a constitution. At their March 16, 1958 meeting the group elected officers, including AARON LIBSON as President and adopted the name Socialist Youth Union of Philadelphia (SYU), which was proposed by DANIEL RUBIN. This source on May 28, 1958, furnished a copy of the SYU constitution which stated the SYU was an independent and unaffiliated socialist educational organization. This constitution also stated, "While we welcome the fact that at least 950,000,000 people are building socialism or have already established it in the U.S.S.R., People's China, etc., we do not feel compelled to endorse or criticize every action these nations have taken or are taking ... The avoidance of a hydrogen holocaust between the capitalist and socialist world is also of crucial importance to us."

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A third source on April 25, 1958, advised that DOROTHY RUBIN, wife of DANIEL RUBIN and a member of the Fourth Congressional District Section Committee, CPEPD, representing the Youth Club, reported to a meeting of this Section Committee on April 23, 1958, and gave a report on CP youth which included a report on the SYU. She stated the purpose of SYU was to train young selected progressives for ultimate development into good Marxist-thinking CP members who will be capable of assuming leadership in the CP.

On December 5, 1960, a fourth source advised that the SYU had recently changed its name to Youth for Equality and Peace (YEP).

On January 6, 1961, the fourth source advised that the SYU had changed its name to YEP, then decided against YEP and reverted to SYU pending a new name. On May 11, 1961, this source stated the SYU continues to function in Philadelphia and has a choral group called the Young Peoples Folk Chorus of Philadelphia, which is composed of SYU members and is led by SYLVIA WEINBERG, an SYU member. This group uses the name Young Peoples Folk Chorus of Philadelphia in order to appear before other than left wing organizations.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

July 20, 1961

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 100-31723

Title CPUSA - ORGANIZATION

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Letterhead memorandum  
dated July 20, 1961, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

100-3-69-8645

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

CI 100-3500

*O* C.P. U.S.A.

I. ORGANIZATION  
(Bufile 100-3-69)  
(Cifile 100-3500)

SA. THOMAS P. SCOLLARD  
CINCINNATI - 7/18/61

A. Geographical Breakdown

The Ohio District Headquarters of the Communist Party, USA (CP) is at Cleveland, Ohio. The Cincinnati Division territory covers roughly the southern half of Ohio.

B. Organizational Structure

There are no offices or paid employees or full time CP organizers within the territory of the Cincinnati Division.

II. CP ACTIVITIES, CINCINNATI AREA

Organized CP activity in the Cincinnati, Ohio area centers around the Cincinnati CP Club. The Cincinnati CP Club maintains contact with ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, Chairman of the Ohio CP District, Cleveland, Ohio.

Source: CI T-1, 7/6/61.

Communist Party activity in the area of Cincinnati, Ohio, during the past three months has been limited to contacts between individual members and by mail with KRCHMAREK.

Source: CI T-1, 7/6/61.

DAVID BROWN, Organizer of the Cincinnati CP Club, stated he drove to Cleveland, Ohio, over the week-end of June 26, 1961, to visit with ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, Chairman of the Ohio CP. BROWN wanted to talk to KRCHMAREK about the recent decisions of the Supreme Court concerning the Communist Party. BROWN said he was unable to contact KRCHMAREK in Cleveland either by phone or personally.

Source: CI T-1, 7/6/61.

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NOT RECORDED  
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*[Handwritten signature]*

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-11

CI 100-3500

During May, 1961, the Cincinnati CP Club received literature from ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, Chairman of the Ohio CP District, Cleveland, Ohio. The literature was received through the mail and consisted of a four page mimeograph statement entitled, "Counter Revolution in Cuba", which attacked the United States for "imperialist" invasion of Cuba. The statement was self-identified as being issued by the State Board of the Ohio Communist Party. There was also received a leaflet called "Hands Off Cuba" issued by the Communist Party of Ohio, P. O. Box 1165, Cleveland, Ohio. KRCHMAREK also sent a copy of "Party Affairs" published by the National Committee of the Communist Party, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, New York.

Source: CI T-2, 5/25/61.

### III. CP ACTIVITIES OHIO VALLEY AREA

Organized CP activity in the Ohio Valley area centers around the Ohio Valley CP Section. The Ohio Valley CP Section consists of the Wheeling, West Virginia CP Club and the Steubenville, Ohio CP Club. GENNE KUHN is Chairman of the Ohio Valley CP Section and receives directions for the operation of the Section from ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, Chairman of the Ohio CP District, Cleveland, Ohio.

Source: CI T-3, 3/15/61.

KRCHMAREK also meets with the Steubenville Steel Club, Steubenville, Ohio, at infrequent intervals during which meetings he discusses CP programs, passes out CP literature and accepts cash donations from the members of the Club.

Source: CI T-3, 5/12/61.

A characterization of the Steubenville Steel Club is contained in the appendix hereto.

CI 100-3500

GENNE KUHN, Chairman of the Ohio Valley Communist Party Section, has obtained a Post Office Box at Wheeling, West Virginia. The box is being used by KUHN as a return address for the distribution of Communist Party literature to members of the Steubenville, Ohio Communist Party Club and the Wheeling, West Virginia Communist Party Club. Communist Party literature is also being mailed out to the general public using the Post Office Box as a return address. The return address being used is as follows:

"A GOODWILL SERVICE  
P. O. Box 574  
WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA"

Source: CI T-4, 4/28/61.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, Chairman of the Ohio CP District, attended a meeting of the Steubenville Steel Club, Steubenville, Ohio, on April 29, 1961. KRCHMAREK told those present that he had planned to bring GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party, to this meeting as a surprise, but that HALL had been unable to attend. KRCHMAREK said he believed that when party affairs settled down, HALL would be able to attend a meeting of the Steel Club.

Source: CI T-3, 5/12/61.

ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, Chairman of the Ohio CP District, discussed the Cuban situation at a meeting of the Steubenville Steel Club, Steubenville, Ohio, on April 29, 1961. KRCHMAREK said that the victory of CASTRO forces over the counter-revolutionary forces should be a lesson as to the Socialist power of the world today. KRCHMAREK pointed out that the counter-revolutionary forces of the most powerful imperialistic force in the world were defeated in a few days.

KRCHMAREK explained that it was impossible for the CASTRO government to move ahead with the revolution until the forces that would hinder it were eliminated. He said that the BATISTA regime had to be eliminated first. Then the next step

CI 100-3500

was the nationalization of the properties of the large corporations and exposing the class of native exploiters.

KRCHMAREK stated that the danger of war with Cuba is still present but hope for peace is being strengthened daily by the support other worker's countries are giving to CASTRO.

Source: CI T-3, 5/12/61.

KRCHMAREK, Chairman of the Ohio CP District, urged members of the Steubenville Steel Club, Steubenville, Ohio, to read an article in the April, 1961 edition of the "World Marxist Review", entitled "Monopoly Militarism in the U. S. A." and the "Anti-Monopoly Struggle in Canada."

Source: CI T-3, 5/12/61.

A characterization of the "World Marxist Review" is contained in the appendix hereto.

At a CP meeting in Steubenville, Ohio, on April 30, 1961, ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, Chairman of the Ohio CP District, discussed the fact that during March, 1961, he spent some time at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, speaking to the students. KRCHMAREK related that he was warmly received by the students at Antioch and that he was treated with respect. He said he was given elegant quarters and his expenses of \$68 were paid by a student group. He explained that he debated with a professor on economics before a gathering of students and expected to be put on the defensive at the questioning period. KRCHMAREK said, however, it turned out that the professor was the one put on the defensive and he, KRCHMAREK, went to his rescue several times. KRCHMAREK said his talks were warmly received and he sold many books on Marxism. KRCHMAREK stated he distributed literature widely at Antioch and most of it was paid for by the Antioch students.

Source: CI T-3, 5/15/61.

CI 100-3500

GENNE KUHN, Chairman of the Ohio Valley Communist Party Section, scheduled a meeting of the Section for May 7, 1961, and indicated that the meeting was being called because of some very serious developments. One of the members of the Ohio Valley Section thought that KUHN was upset because some of the members had not attended a meeting of the Section on April 22, 1961.

Source: CI T-4, 4/28/61.

A meeting of the Ohio Valley CP Section was held on May 7, 1961 at Bellaire, Ohio. Some members of the Wheeling CP Club attended but no members of the Steubenville CP Club showed up. GENNE KUHN, Chairman of the Section led the meeting. The group read an article from a book written by GUS HALL, General Chairman of the CP. The article was written about the role of the CP and the way the CP should work. One part of the article dealt with the means to work with the masses.

Source: CI T-4 and CI T-5, 5/15/61.

At a meeting of the Ohio Valley CP Section held on May 7, 1961, at Bellaire, Ohio, GENNE KUHN, Chairman of the Section, stated she spends about \$82.00 per month sending out pamphlets and various literature. KUHN said that this could not continue and that each member of the Section would have to help in the future.

Source: CI T-4 and CI T-5, 5/15/61.

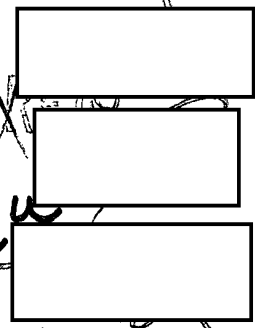
At a meeting of the Ohio Valley CP Section held on May 7, 1961, at Bellaire, Ohio, JIM COBB passed out announcements of the re-opening of the One World Book Shop, 2014 East 105th Street Cleveland, Ohio. COBB said that party literature may be purchased at this store.

Source: CI T-4 and CI T-4, 5/15/61.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~



b6  
b7C

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 8-2-61

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

~~SECRET~~

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS - C  
(OO:NY)

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 dly/bb  
ON 6-5-96 #272,440

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~SECRET~~  
TSS/ter

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH THE HANDLING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION SET FORTH CAN READILY BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE SOURCE BECAUSE OF THE FORM IN WHICH IT WAS RECEIVED, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO SET FORTH IN ANY INVESTIGATIVE REPORT.

~~SECRET~~

On July 31, 1961, CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA [redacted] a three-page handwritten letter prepared by ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, Chairman, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), mailed from New York City and dated July 26, 1961.

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This letter was photostated by the Chicago Office and the original was returned to the source on August 1, 1961. One photostat of this letter has been retained by the Chicago Office and made an exhibit in CGfile 100-33741-1B3( ). Two photostats each of this item are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York.

~~SECRET~~

- 3-Bureau (Enc 2) (RM)  
(1-100-12877) (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
  - 2-Detroit (RM)  
(1-100-13420) (CARL WINTER)
  - (1-100-13740) (HELEN WINTER)
- LRWH:MDW  
(see page 2 for additional copies)

EX 100

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Declassify on: OADR  
100-3-69-8646  
AUG 7 1961

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ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

~~APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SEPARATE MEMORANDUM~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFICATION

SP15 RMLC

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10-8-80

CG 100-33741

Copies: (Con't.)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

2-New Haven (Info) (RM)

- (1-100- (CARL WINTER)
- (1-100- (HELEN WINTER)

15-New York (RM) (Enc. 2)

- (1-100-54965 (JOHN ABT) (1-100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)
- (1-100- (JOSEPH BRANDT)
- (1-100-23825 (BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.)
- (1-100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
- (1-100-13472 (GILBERT GREEN)
- (1-100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- (1-100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- (1-100-105078 (HY LUMER)
- (1-100-15946 ( [redacted] )
- (1-100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
- (1-100-74560 (CP, USA - Funds)
- (1-100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)
- (1-100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)
- (1-100-145082 (CCCL)

b6  
b7C

5-Chicago

- (1-A [redacted])
- (1-100-3949 [redacted])
- (1-100-21181 [redacted])
- (1-100-3952 (GILBERT GREEN)

b7D

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(u)

[ RW:MDW (27) ]

(u)

(u)

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~



*RF (u)*

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Set forth below are the verbatim contents of this letter except for the minor deletion of personal data or that information which tends to identify the source and has no investigative pertinency. The information appearing in the parentheses was supplied by the source on July 31, 1961:

*(R) \$ (u)*

"July 26 - 1961 -

*RF \$ (u)*

".....

"What a horrible business about Gil (Green)! As far as we have been able to ascertain he is en route here (New York) - a torture these hot Summer days. He will be landed at West St. John (Abt) is assumed bail will be \$5000<sup>00</sup>. The N.Y. Fed attorney wanted to raise it but, we understand, Wash. (Washington) said no. So he should be taken to court Sat if they get a judge to sit. Otherwise he'll be stuck there till Monday, I heard Ben (Green) is coming in. Poor Lil (Green) - this must be a frightful shock and disappointment to her. G. (Gus Hall) will come straight through, I believe from S.F. (San Francisco) B's (Bob Thompson) trip is off. Winny (Henry Winston) I presume will return here. Gil should be in Chicago by mid-week, at this rate. Poor guy! What a punishment they have put him through - it's pure sadism. I listened to J.K. (President John F. Kennedy) last night. What a poor speaker and uninspiring personality, telling us 'guns not butter' is to be our fare. I felt as if I were in a kindergarten, listening to teacher droning along. He was cautious on some points.

*RF \$ (u)*

"I was not well yesterday at the office - a slight chest pain. What a fuss! Jack gave me a nitroglycerine pill and it stopped, But I had already taken two of your digestion pills - so I think they did it and am not worried. Bill S. promised to take that unsightly partition down so I can get some air there. Ben (Davis) voted yes on that. We were unanimous.

*RF \$ (u)*

"Helen (Winter) & Carl (Winter) returned to Conn. Will see Michele over the weekend. Then they go home. He put over successfully what Hy (Lumer) & I proposed originally, to put Jim T. (Tormey) in complete charge. Arnold (Johnson) is very sore - but it can't be helped. He is working with Joe B. (Brandt). We plan he should go out on a tour, to build up the project. This takes a load off my mind. Now little sister is my only worry

*RF \$ (u)*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

CG 100-33741

~~SECRET~~ (u)

~~SECRET~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

"Am going to U.N. Cuban July 26th celebration this afternoon - we all have invitations. So I decided to skip the meeting today and try to get a rest for a few hours before going to the U.N.

~~SECRET~~ (u)

"....."

Hurrah! I said 'Just called Ben (Davis). The partition is gone! I said 'You see what happens when we vote unanimously?'

~~SECRET~~ (u)

"....."

"Elizabeth"

~~SECRET~~ (u)

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED~~

ENCLOSURES (2) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

2 photostats of let dtd 7/26/61 prepared by  
FLYNN, Chairman, CP, USA ~~S~~ (u)

RE: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION  
IS-C  
(OO:NY)

6-5-96 SP2cl/bb  
#272,640

Bufile 100-3-69  
CGfile 100-33741 ~~u~~

Transmitted via CGlet to Bureau dtd 8/2/61  
~~u~~

~~1/25/81  
Classified  
Declassify  
1678 RFP/PB  
CADR~~

~~CLASSIFIED~~  
~~EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~  
SP4JRMJUC  
2  
L8/2/81 ~~u~~  
10/8/80

100-3-69- 2646



9/1  
I think that they have put ~~it~~  
through - it's pure sadism.  
I listened to J.H. last night. What  
a poor speaker and uninspiring  
personality, telling us "guns  
not butter" is to be our fate,  
I felt as if I were in a kinder-  
garten, listening to teacher droning  
along. He was cautious on some <sup>points</sup>.

I was not well yesterday at the  
office - a slight chest pain, what  
a fuss! Jack gave me a nitro-  
glycerine pill and it stopped,  
But I had already taken two of your  
digestion pills - so I think they  
did it and am not worried. Bill

S. promised to take that up -  
rightly put it down so I can get  
some on here. Ben voted yes on  
that. We were unanimous.

Helen + Carl returned to Conn.  
We'll see <sup>trouble</sup> over the week -  
and <sup>they go home</sup> the point was successfully  
what Hy + I proposed originally,  
to put Jim T. in complete charge.

3/ Arnold is very nice - but it can't  
be helped. He is working with Joe B.  
We plan he should go out on a  
tour, to build up the project.  
This takes a load off my mind.  
Now little sister is my only worry.

Am going to U.N. Cuban July  
26th celebration this afternoon -  
we all have invitations. So I  
decided to skip the meeting today  
and try to get a rest for a few  
hours before going to the U.N.

I am afraid this business  
re Gil has caused you a lot  
of work and worry and not  
contributed to your health.

Just called Ben. The parking  
is gone! Hurrah! I said "you see  
what happens when we vote  
unanimously?"

Best regards to dear friends  
there. Do try to take it a little  
easier now, I worry about you.

Love - Elizabeth

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 8-3-61

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

b6  
b7C

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN THE HANDLING AND REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN INASMUCH AS A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT WAS INVOLVED AND MUCH OF THE MEETING WAS CONDUCTED THROUGH THE EXCHANGE OF NOTES AND THE UTILIZATION OF A BLACKBOARD. ANY REFERENCE TO THIS MEETING AND THE PROCEEDINGS AT THIS MEETING WOULD TEND TO IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

There is enclosed herewith for the Bureau two copies of an informant statement dated July 18, 1961 containing information orally furnished on July 18, 1961 by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past to SAs [redacted] and [redacted].

This information was reduced to writing on August 2, 1961 and the original report is located in Chicago file A [redacted].

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 2- Bureau (REGISTERED) (Encs. 2) - 1-1243 wj
- 12- New York (REGISTERED)
  - 1- 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN)
  - 1- 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
  - 1- 100-16785 (JIM JACKSON)
  - 1- 100- [redacted]
  - 1- 100-56 [redacted]
  - 1- 100- [redacted]
  - 1- 100-935 [redacted]
  - 1- 100-50874 (JESSICA SMITH) REC-96
  - 1- 100- [redacted]
  - 1- 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
  - 1- 100-86624 (CP, USA- International Relations)
  - 1- 100- (CP, USA- Organization)
- 3- Chicago
  - 1- A [redacted]
  - 1- 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)

b6  
b7C

AUG 7 1961

100-3-69-8647

100-3-81

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136

CNF/njb XEROX (17)

50 AUG 13 1961

Regards place copy + encl. [redacted] (CP, USA - Int. Relations) [redacted]

[Handwritten signature]

July 18, 1961

It will be recalled that the initial meeting of the newly constituted Foreign Affairs Committee of the Communist Party (CP), USA, was held in New York on July 17, 1961.

The following individuals are members of the Foreign Affairs Committee:

MORRIS CHILDS  
JAMES ALLEN

Chairman  
Secretary

Members

GUS HALL  
JIM JACKSON  
PAUL NOVAK (of the "Morning Freiheit")  
MIKE DAVIDOW  
ABE MAGILL  
SUE WARREN (FRANK)  
JESSICA SMITH  
DAVE CARPENTER (MASON).

There is a possibility that someone from the Party youth organization may be added to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Party.

There is also a possibility that ARNOLD JOHNSON will be added to this Committee.

A report has previously been furnished on the July 17, 1961 meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

1 XEROX  
AUG 18 1961  
VPS

100-3-69-8647

ENCLOSURE



Rept San Antonio  
7-31-61

SA John M. Kemmy

SA 100-242

C.P.

ORGANIZATION  
(BUFILE 100-3-69)

SA T-1 (6/30/61)

JOHN STANFORD appears to continue as the main CP leader in San Antonio. He continues his efforts to reorganize the CP in this area, and is one of the San Antonio representatives on the State Committee of the CP. STANFORD is the Executive Secretary of the CP of Texas.

SA T-1 (4/26/61)

On April 20, 1961, JOHN STANFORD, and another member of the State Committee of the CP of Texas, discussed the potential CP membership of two individuals and made a tentative agreement that both should be accepted. The matter of splitting the San Antonio CP group was then discussed. It was agreed that the San Antonio CP group would be split into two separate groups.

SA T-1 (4/26/61)

It was learned from JOHN STANFORD that a meeting of the CP club met April 23, 1961, in San Antonio.

SA T-1 (5/5/61)

A CP club meeting was held in San Antonio on May 3, 1961. Since another CP club had been formed in San Antonio, it was decided to elect new officers for this CP club meeting on May 3, 1961. At this meeting, JOHN STANFORD was elected coordinator of the two CP clubs in San Antonio, and one other member of this club was elected to the Coordinating Committee. It was understood that the other CP club in San Antonio is to elect a member to the Coordinating Committee. Thus the committee will consist of three individuals, JOHN STANFORD and two others.

SA T-1 (6/2/61)

At a CP group meeting held in San Antonio on May 26, 1961, an election of officers was held. JOHN STANFORD was elected Educational Director, and JAMES SAGER, SR. was elected Chairman.

100-3-69  
NOT RECORDED  
170 AUG 14 1961

64 AUG 14 1961

40-3-201  
ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

SA 100-242

A report was given that JAMES SAGER, JR. had approached one of the members of this club concerning SAGER, JR.'s desire to merge the two CP clubs, namely the one SAGER is in, and the group meeting at this time. After discussion on this matter, this group decided that the two groups or clubs should not be merged for security reasons and also for the benefit of the CP, namely, by maintaining two groups, SAGER, JR. would be forced to a position of leadership and responsibility in the party since he is in the other group.

SA T-1:

At CP club meeting held at San Antonio on November 24, 1959, JOHN STANFORD commented that JAMES SAGER, JR. had been appointed by the State Convention of the CP as a delegate to the State Committee from San Antonio.

SA T-1 (6/16/61)

A CP club meeting was held in San Antonio on June 9, 1961. (It is to be noted that this was a meeting of the older CP club in San Antonio, and not the newer one.)

SA T-1 (5/1/61)

On April 28, 1961, there was a meeting of the Marxist Discussion Group (First) in San Antonio.

SA T-2 (4/11/61)

On March 30, 1961, and on April 6, 1961, meetings of the Marxist Discussion Group (Second) were held in San Antonio.

SA T-2 (4/20/61)

A meeting of the Marxist Discussion Group (Second) was held in San Antonio on April 13, 1961.

SA T-2 (5/1/61)

A meeting of the Marxist Discussion Group (Second) was held in San Antonio on April 26, 1961. Among those present were: JOHN STANFORD and JAMES SAGER, JR. and SR. JOHN

SA 100-242

STANFORD led the discussion and after he finished, he told the group that it had been nice working with them, but that he had finished, and that he must leave them alone to see what they have learned. He told them they could make their own club. At that time STANFORD and SAGER, SR. went out of the room. JAMES SAGER, JR. took over the meeting. After SAGER, JR. told the group that two persons present had been approved by the CP for membership, he said that those present in the room will have their own CP club. STANFORD and SAGER, SR. came back into the room, and STANFORD told the group that they were now all on their own. He gave the two new members a book entitled, Proceedings (Abridged) of the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA.

STANFORD then asked SAGER, SR. for an initiation for the new party members. SAGER, SR. said, "Not much to say. Our organization is a large one and we must take every step of security to save it. That is the reason we must meet in small groups. No names are ever written so no one will ever know who the members are. Only the members in the group. The chairman will only turn in the dues of so many to the body higher than the chairman. Dues go on to the state body only saying how many paid their dues. As you go along you will learn not to criticize the person but the party so that the party can get stronger."

SA T-2 (5/12/61)

A CP group met on May 10, 1961, in San Antonio. JAMES SAGER, JR. was appointed chairman for the first meeting. SAGER said that this Communist Party was the vanguard to all its members, so they were free to discuss their activities there at the meetings and they would be taken up to discuss. He also said this is a small group but we must try to enlarge it some day. He pointed out the State CP will be the vanguard of this party and will supply the club with books so that the member can buy and study.

SA T-2 (5/<sup>31</sup>/3/61)

At a CP group meeting held on May 30, 1961, in San Antonio, officers were elected for one year, and JAMES SAGER, JR. was elected Educational Director.

SA 100-242

SA T-2 (6/23/61)

On June 21, 1961, a CP group held a meeting in San Antonio. Among those present were JAMES SAGER, JR.

8/4/61

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7166)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-1158)  
SUBJECT: JAMES LUSTIG  
SM-C

b6  
b7C

On 8/3/61, NY 694-S\* advised SA [redacted] as follows:

GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, informed NY 694-S\* on 8/3/61, that on Saturday, 8/5/61, he and IRVING POTASH, CPUSA Labor Secretary, would visit the captioned subject at the Westchester farm of HENRY WALLACE, where LUSTIG is employed. The meeting with LUSTIG will be "secret," and the purpose thereof is to persuade LUSTIG to become active in the NY State CP leadership.

On 8/4/61, NY 2858-S\* advised that according to PHIL BART, CPUSA Organizational Secretary, GUS HALL and JACK STACHEL would go to Westchester on 8/5/61, to visit JAMES LUSTIG

NY 694-S\* has been alerted to ascertain from GUS HALL the result of the latter's meeting with LUSTIG.

A letterhead memorandum is not being submitted because it is believed that to disseminate the above information would jeopardize the security of NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant.

- 4-Bureau (100-7166) (RM)
- 1-100-3-69 (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION)
- 1-[redacted] (INV.) (41)
- 1-NY 100-125814 (CPUSA-NYD-ORGANIZATION) (414)
- 1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1-NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1-NY 100-42033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1-NY 100-13065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1-NY 100-1158 (421)

b7D

ACB:unc  
(13)

100-3-69-  
NOT RECORDED  
150 AUG 8 1961

25  
AUG 11 1961

FBI

Date: 8/7/61

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
Priority or Method of Mailing

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7166)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-1158) (421)  
SUBJECT: JAMES LUSTIG  
SM-C

ReNY airtel, 8/4/61, captioned as above.

On 8/7/61, NY 694-S\* advised SA [redacted] as follows:

b6  
b7c

On 8/6/61, GUS HALL telephonically informed NY 694-S\* that on 8/5/61, HALL and IRVING POTASH had contacted JAMES LUSTIG and agreed as follows: LUSTIG will replace LOUIS WEINSTOCK as business manager of "The Worker"; WEINSTOCK will replace MILTON ROSEN as head of the Industrial Division of the New York State CP, and MILTON ROSEN will be removed from leadership.

HALL emphasized to NY 694-S\* that the latter should not disclose the above information to anyone at this time.

A letterhead memorandum is not being submitted because it is believed that to disseminate the above information would jeopardize the security of NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant.

- 4 - Bureau (100-7166) (RM)
- 1 - (100-3-69) (CPUSA - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - [redacted] (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-128814 (CPUSA, NYD - ORGANIZATION) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-132430 (CPUSA, NYD - INDUSTRIAL DIVISION) (42)
- 1 - NY 100-118174 (MILTON ROSEN) (414)
- 1 - NY 97-169 ("THE WORKER") (415)
- 1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-1158 (421)

b7D

ACB:mm1  
(16)

100-3-69  
NOT RECORDED  
78 AUG 9 1961

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

56 AUG 14 1961

ORIGINAL FILED IN

NY 100-1158

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein, since, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S\*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S\*, it should not be incorporated - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

Fox

August 8, 1961

SAC, New York (100-80641)

Director, FBI (100-3-69)

**COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

Information available indicates that a meeting of the National Executive Committee, Communist Party, USA, is scheduled to be held in New York City 8/12-13/61.

At the conclusion of this meeting, promptly submit pertinent details in the form of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination.

MAILED 20  
AUG 8 1961  
COMM-FBI

REC-31 / 100-3-69-86

19 AUG 9 1961

EX - 102

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Belmont \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Evans \_\_\_\_\_
- Malone \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Tratt \_\_\_\_\_
- Ingram \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FFF:kmo  
(4)

66 AUG 11 1961

MAIL ROOM  TELETYPE UNIT



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

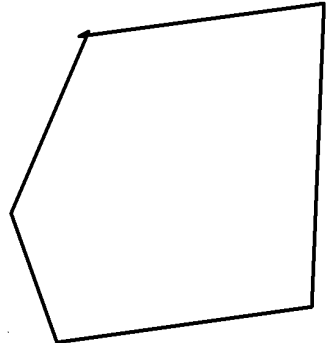
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)  
(100-3-68)

DATE: 8/7/61

FROM : SAC, NEW HAVEN (100-11623)  
(100-11037)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - ORGANIZATION  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - MEMBERSHIP  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C



b6  
b7C

Re New Haven letter to Bureau, 6/23/61.

The following information is being submitted to the Bureau concerning the current estimated membership of the Communist Party of Connecticut:

1. Estimated Number of CP Members

Thirty-three

2. Number of Persons Positively Identified since last Progress Letter

One

3. Number of Members Tentatively Identified since last Progress Letter

None

4. Number Positively Identified as CP Members within Past Twelve-Month Period

Twenty-one (including six Security Informants)

5. Number of Members Tentatively Identified within past Twelve-Month Period

Twelve

*mg  
st*

*1-d*

*UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-68*

P-100-11623  
4 - Bureau (RM)  
3 - New Haven (cc: 100-9851)  
TS:md  
(7)

REC-92

*100-3-69-8649*

AUG 9 1961

EX-107

*INT. SEC.*

55 AUG 16 1961

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-68

NH 100-11623  
100-11307

As the Bureau has been previously advised, [redacted] in May 1961, advised that SIDNEY TAYLOR, Connecticut CP leader, had discussed the need for a CP organizer in the State of Connecticut, indicating that such an organizer should be appointed on a full time basis. TAYLOR made these remarks, according to the informant, during a CP meeting of a CP Railroad group. TAYLOR also remarked at that time that a representative of the "National Office" in New York City would be present in New Haven on May 7, 1961, in order to discuss the matter of appointing a full time CP organizer in this state. b7D

Subsequent investigation has failed to develop any information indicating that any such organizer has been appointed or that any such appointment is in the offing at the present time.

The matter of appointing a CP organizer has been very carefully followed throughout all security investigations and particularly through currently active informants. According to the best information available, there is no organized CP activity taking place in the state of Connecticut.

The Bureau will be promptly advised of any specific information concerning either attempts to organize the CP of Connecticut or any data pertaining to the identification of CP members in the state.